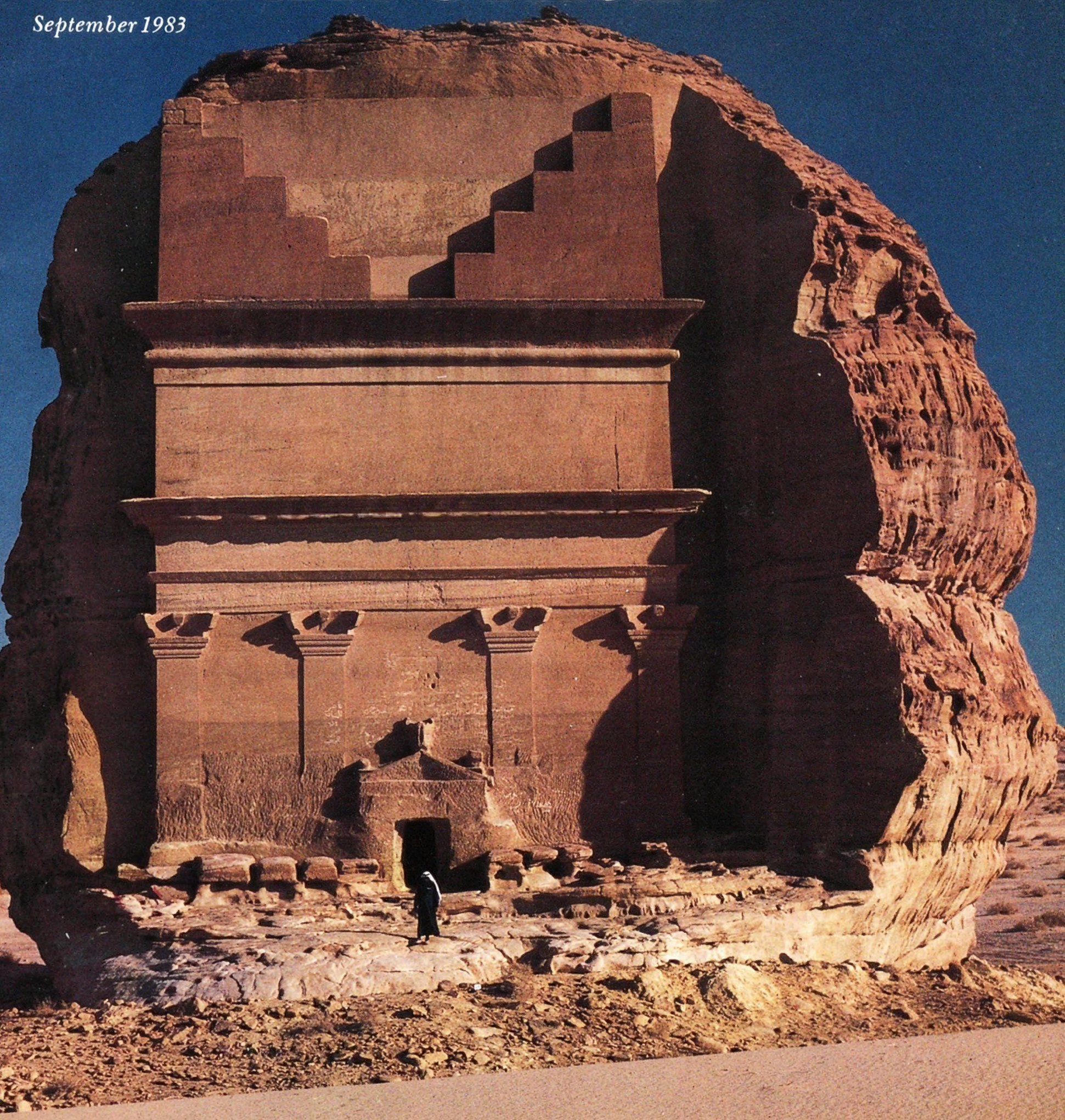
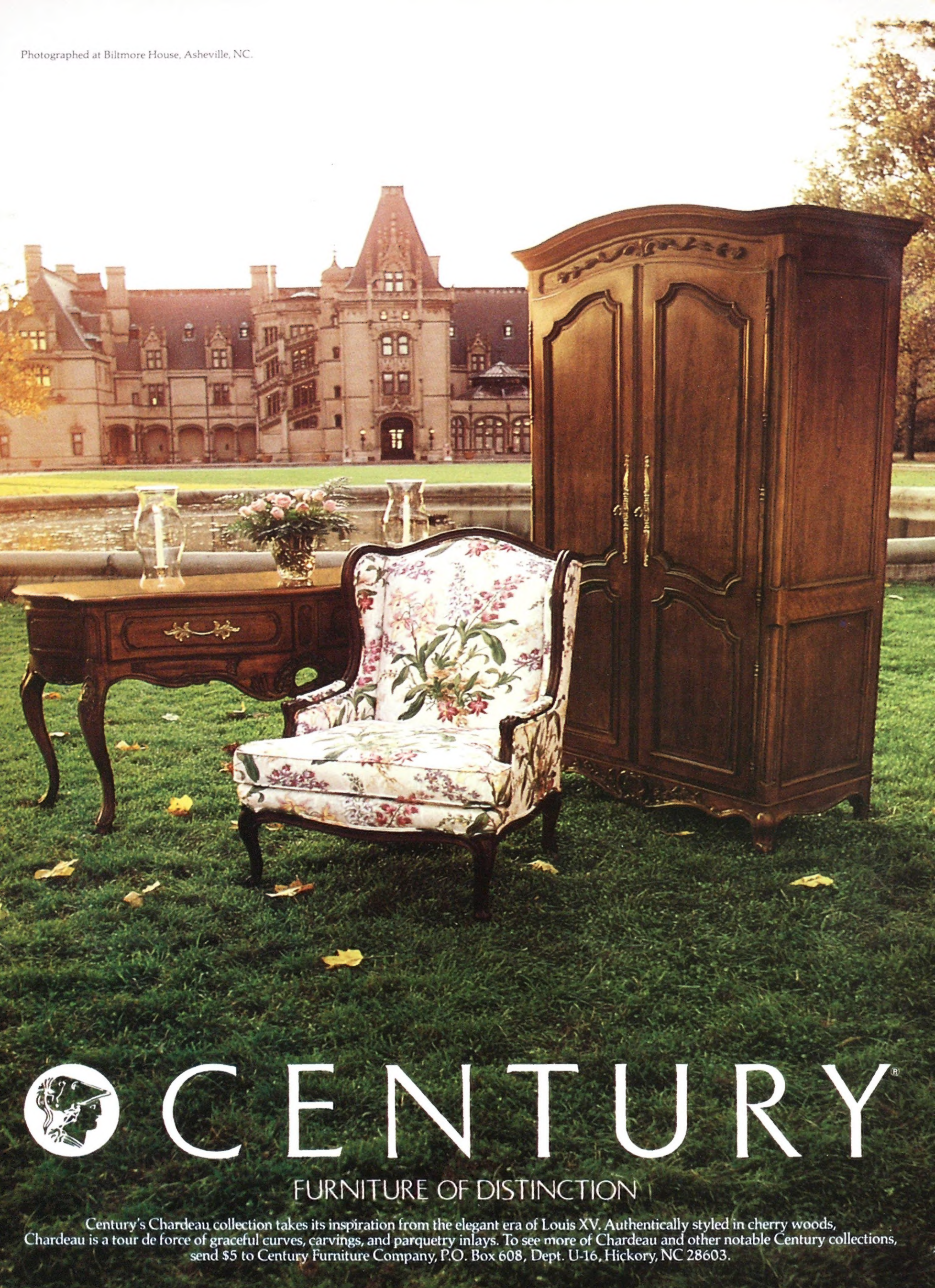
Smithsonian

September 1983



Sculptured from a stone outcrop, this ancient tomb is one of the treasures emerging from Saudi Arabian sands (p.42)

Photographed at Biltmore House, Asheville, NC.



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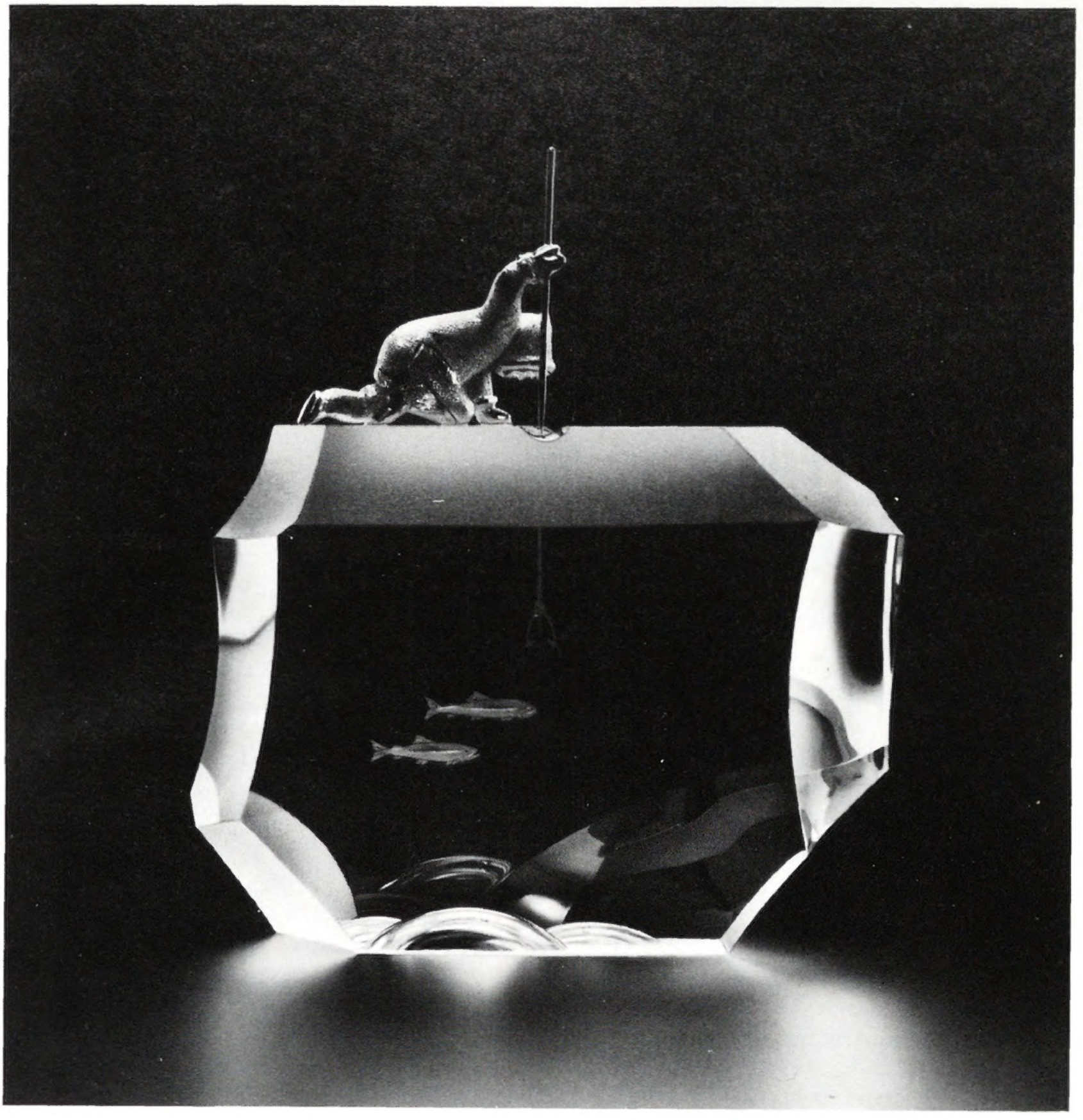

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STEUBEN GLASS

September 1983

Smithsonian

Volume 14, Number 6

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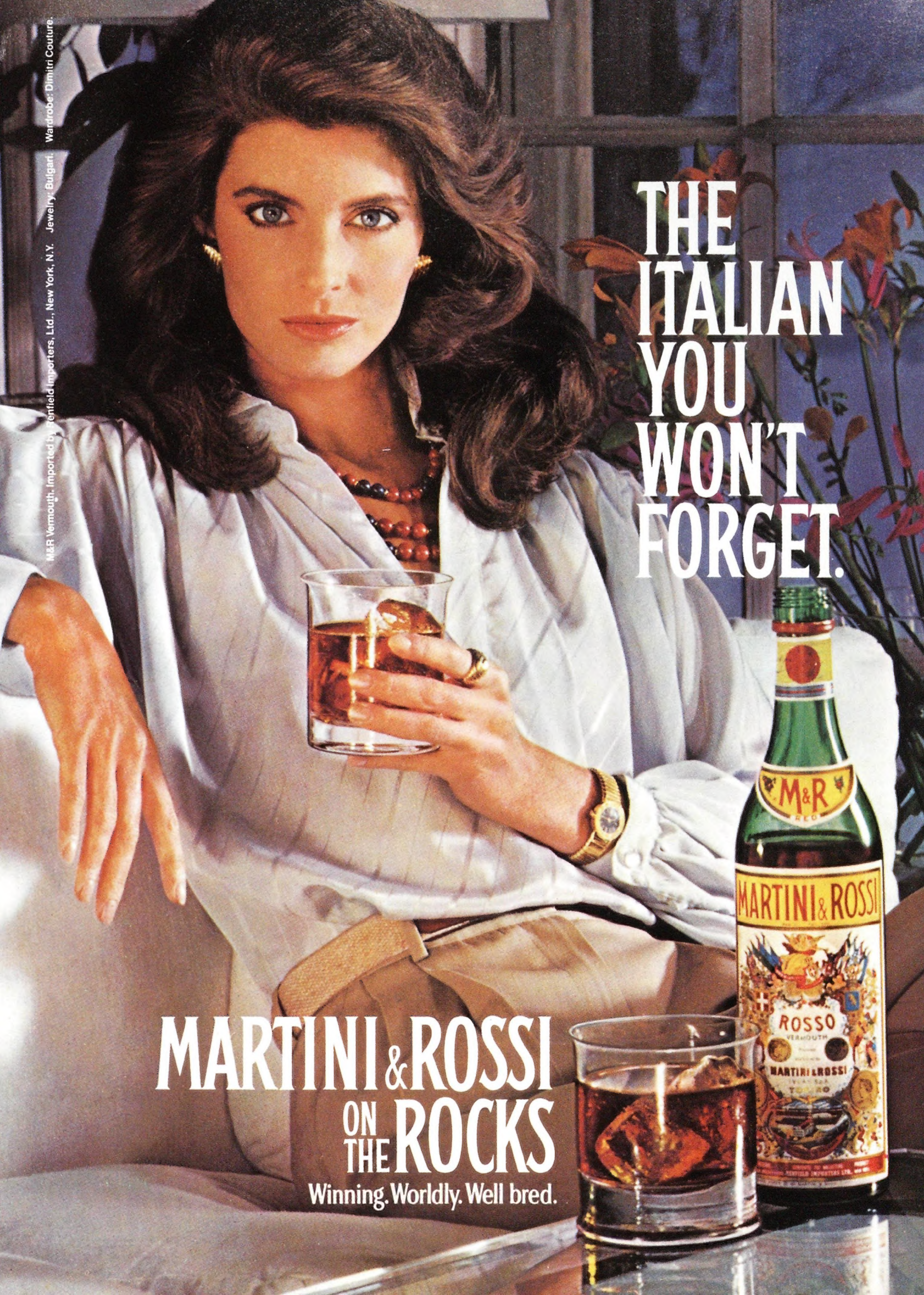
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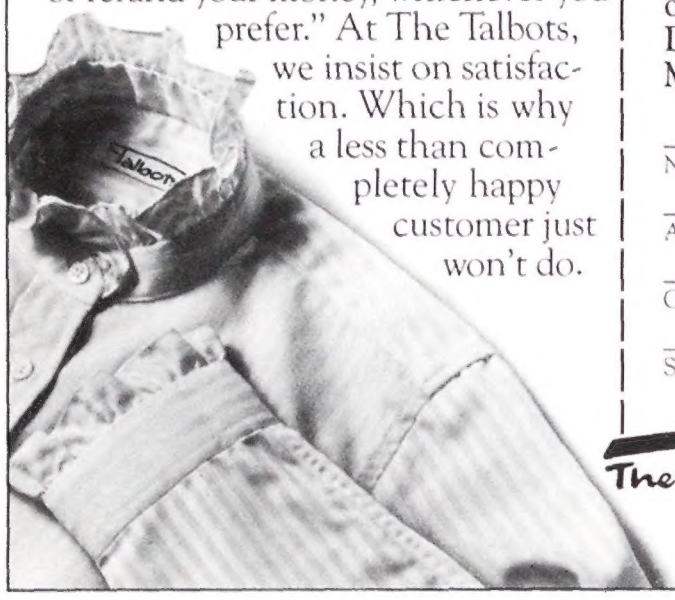

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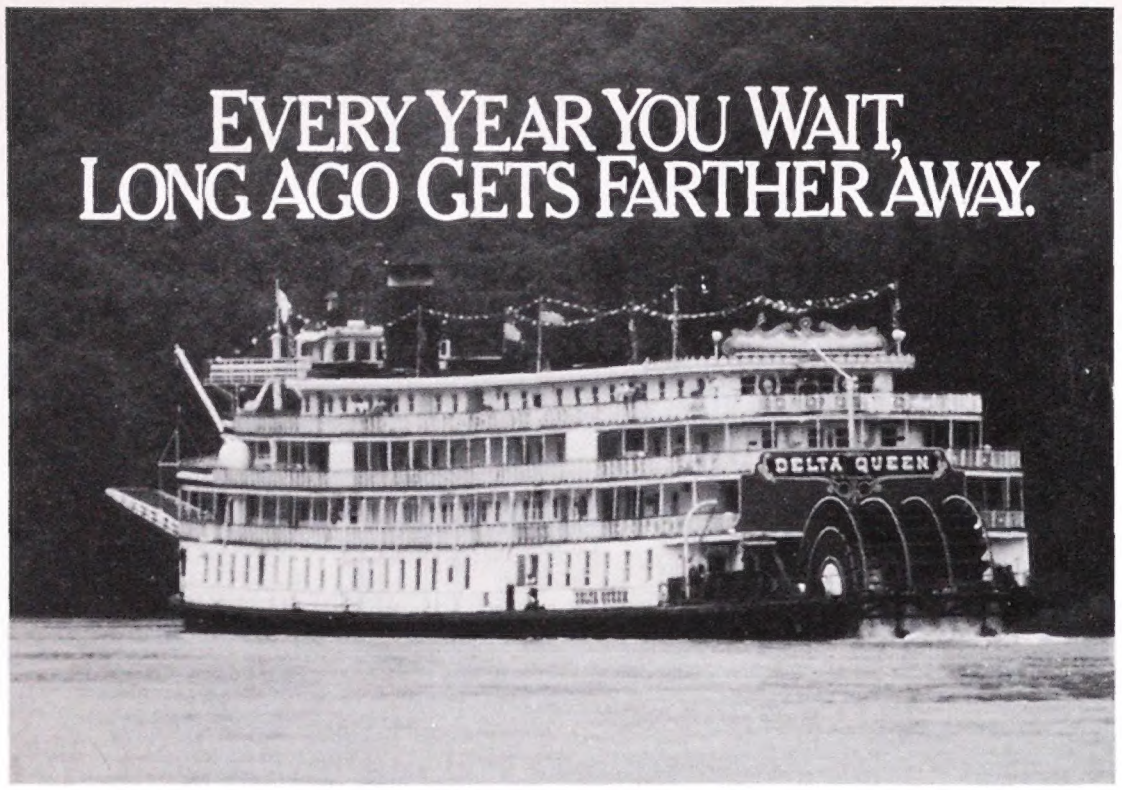

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Secretary Ripley's comments

The view from the castle

A splendid collection of Islamic art, created by a dedicated young couple, opens in Kuwait

This past winter an event of nearly unique artistic importance took place in Kuwait. This was the opening, in that country's new National Museum, of an exhibition of Islamic art and artifacts. Of course, there are great collections of the art of Islam to be found in Baghdad, Damascus, Istanbul and Cairo, and farther west in Berlin, Leningrad, London, Paris and New York. But up until this year there had been no public exhibition in the Middle East of a collection so comprehensive and of such quality.

The great museums of Iraq and Pakistan are essentially archaeological, filled with the relics of ancient pre-Islamic civilizations such as Sumer and Babylon, or of the Indus valley civilization of Harappa and Mohenjo-Daro. Iran is closed to us these days, as is Afghanistan, leaving huge gaps for us in historic art appreciation.

Meanwhile, a patron and his dedicated wife had appeared in Kuwait. Sheikh Nasser Sabah al-Ahmad al-Sabah and Sheikha Hussa, through their own passionate interest in the art and science of the Islamic regions, stretching geographically from Spain to the Far East, had begun intensive collecting. With time, the collection has grown to be perhaps the most important of its kind in private hands—some 20,000 items in all, of which about a thousand are on display in the National Museum. The exhibition was arranged and catalogued by Dr. Marilyn Jenkins of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York.

It includes manuscript material, both religious and secular, medical instruments, astrolabes, works in metal, glass, wood and ivory, textiles, armor and jewelry. Examples of architectural details, paneled wood doors from Fez, ornamental elements from the Fatimid dynasty in North Africa, glass and inlaid metal from Mamluk times in Egypt, palace rugs from Iran and Mughal India—all are there, along with wonderful filigree jewelry from the Maghreb all the way to Delhi. (A catalog, *Islamic Art in the Kuwait National Museum*, has been published by Sotheby Publications, London, 1983, and is available from museum shops and booksellers.)

Secretary Ripley, Sheikha Hussa, Mrs. Ripley and Sheikh Nasser.

As Dr. Jenkins writes in the catalog, Sheikh Nasser began collecting primarily from a desire to bring Islamic objects back to Islamic soil. The result is something that no other individual has managed to do. The great collections mentioned earlier were formed by many people over many years. Sheikh Nasser, alone, created one that ranks with those in slightly less than eight.

Through all this frenzy of collecting, and the final decision to install a selection of the material in a building of the National Museum, Sheikh Nasser and his wife seem to have preserved their imperturbable charm and naturalness. Members of the cosmopolitan group that came together in Kuwait for the opening were captivated by the simple good manners and enthusiasm of this young couple, so completely absorbed in their work, and awed by the extent and richness of their collection.

It was a cultural triumph for a city sprung from the desert within the past 25 years, a city better known in the West and Far East as a repository of liquid gold than as a cultural center. But those in the know were already aware that there was in Kuwait a discerning pair of collectors among members of the ruling family (Sheikh Nasser is a nephew of the Emir).

From these desert sands had already emerged generations of cultivated and thoughtful people who, aside from their nomadic or mercantile way of life, had a deep love for education and a profound sense of history and family obligation. The zeal and artistic integrity characteristic of the al-Sabahs and their friends serve as reminders of the depth of respect for the past and for tradition that centers today in the vigorous new countries of the Middle East.

S. Dillon Ripley

Some items from the al-Sabah Collection in the Kuwait National Museum: above, *Portrait of a Persian Painter*, manuscript miniature from Mughal India, first quarter, 17th century.

Emerald centerpiece from an armband, also Mughal India, late 16th or early 17th century.

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Letters to the Editor

Earthquakes

Dear Sir: I had put off reading Richard L. Williams' earth-shaking article because we, in our area, had heard so much recently about earthquakes. And so it was midnight on July 8th when I picked up SMITHSONIAN to read for a while.

At page 43—on scientific prediction—all of a sudden the bed started shaking, our old windows were rattling and I knew, sure enough—earthquake! As confirmed the next morning in the *Fresno Bee*, 5.1 on the Richter scale. . . .

Needless to say, I have not resumed reading the article.
Mrs. Joann Colan
Fresno, California

Dear Sir: On the evening of June 28 the Menlo Park City Council, of which I am a member, was discussing reaffirmation of the city ordinance on street trees. I had just finished your article on earthquake detection and remembered the reference to our city. I quoted from it as follows: ". . . in the leafy heart of Menlo Park . . ." and pointed out that, obviously, we had a national obligation to maintain our trees. I am pleased to report that the proposal passed unanimously and Menlo Park will continue to have its "leafy heart."
Matt Lehmann
Menlo Park

Rural post offices

Dear Sir: Reading your superb article evoked so many memories, for I grew up in and have traveled the rural areas hereabouts for many years. We moved a lot in the later years of the Great Depression so Dad could find work, and no matter how isolated a community, there was always the P.O. I had an uncle who was rural mail carrier in a nearby village. He did errands from phone calls to his home or the P.O., which included everything from picking up groceries and hardware to dropping off food from one customer on his route for another who was ill.

Perhaps we should speak out louder on our right to maintain this service, so vital to rural Americans—the first settlers of this land, who today make rural America the special place it still is.
Eleanor Greaves
Greenwich, New York

Dear Sir: Mr. Margolis' article drips with nostalgia, but can we as taxpayers and postal users afford to keep a place for senior citizens to vent their wrath at mismanagement of Social Security?
Kendall J. Wentz
Kimberling City, Missouri

Dear Sir: Recently, I mailed a letter to the Consulate General of Japan in Seattle, having taken the address from the phone book. It was returned stamped undeliverable—"address incomplete."

Yet my local post office managed to deliver to me a letter addressed "about 5 miles from Belfair"—which was incorrect, but I received it on time. I find it reassuring that I am more important to my local post office than is the Japanese Consulate General to that in Seattle.
Judith L. Davis
Union, Washington

Dear Sir: One of the most rural counties in West Virginia is Pocahontas, where several of the post offices are housed in red-white-and-blue mobile homes. I lived next door to the one in Arbovale. One day my dog got loose and Postmistress Evelyn Sutton gathered her in and kept her in the P.O. until I got home.

We now live in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and we count on our rural post office to be there for us come rain, hail, sleet or snow.
Mary Ogden Moore
Eighty Four, Pennsylvania

Dear Sir: Of the many interesting P.O.s here in southwestern Pennsylvania, one of my favorites is in Rea, which occupies, would you believe, a tiny corner of a roadside auto-body repair shop. Recently the

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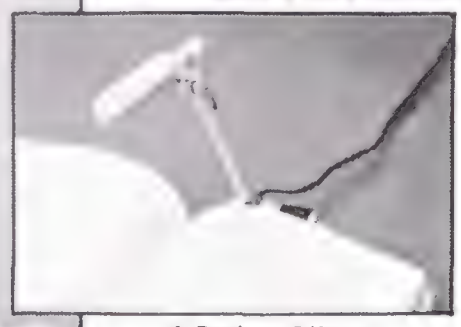

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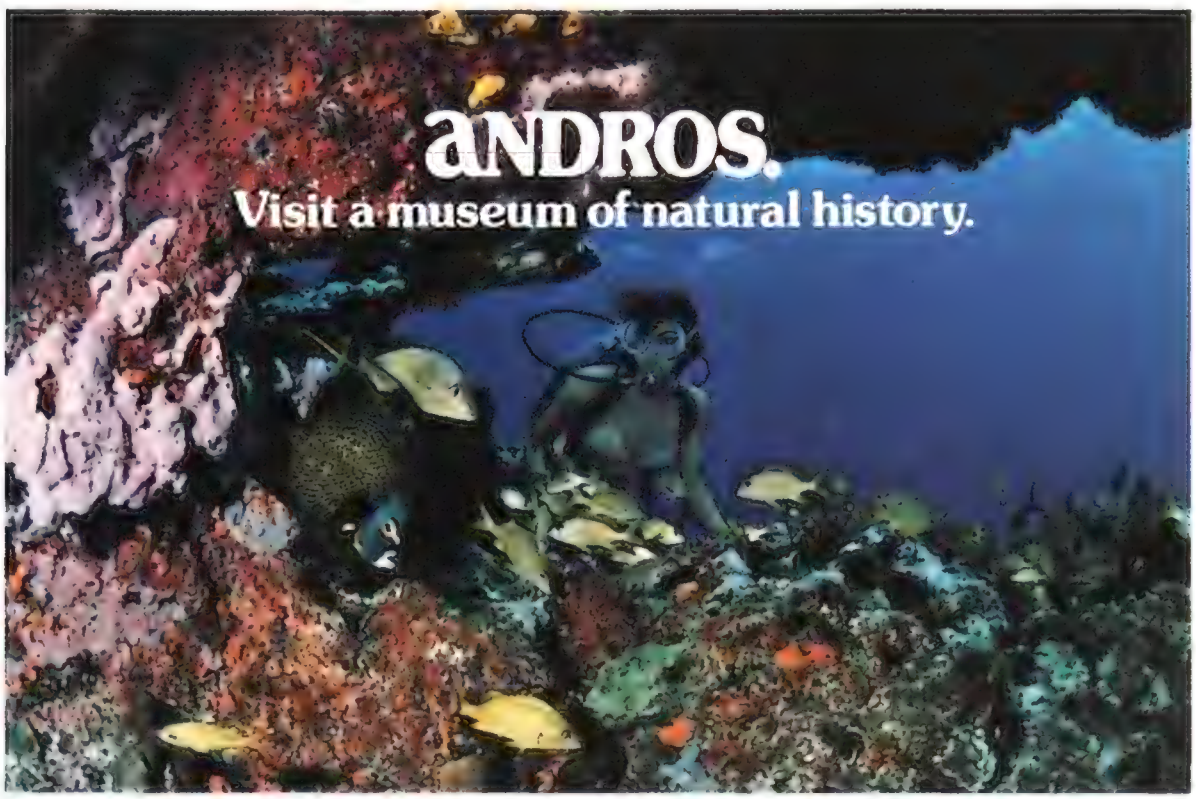

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postmistress asked me "Do you think the government is going to let tiny post offices like this one stay open much longer?" Where would "her" 28 families be? She really cared. Something of this caring attitude is what we lose every time one of these post offices closes. I hope Rea keeps its P.O. for a long time to come.

R. Lloyd Mitchell
Washington, Pennsylvania

Pine Barrens

Dear Sir: I've thoroughly enjoyed reading about what I grew up knowing as "the tall pines," having been born in Woodbine 55 years ago come September. I only wish Mr. Simons had talked with my aunt and uncle, the Turners, near Cape May Court House; you could listen to my uncle for hours and never get bored, or my Aunt Fannie Collo at Goshen or my Cousin Loleda Rutkowski at their garage in Woodbine.

Growing up I didn't realize I was considered a "gatherer," but we did live mostly off the beautiful land. There were blueberries, huckleberries, strawberries, blackberries and all sorts of apples, including the little jelly apples. Every sort of vegetable. We canned in summer and had fantastic eating in the winter.

We played stickball, hide-and-seek. We swam in the many lakes and pools. I do pray they'll really try to preserve the area —including Belleplain, the only town in the country where they really have their own language—talk to my Aunt Louisa Harris Fleming and you'll see.

Betty Fleming Chambers
Broken Arrow, Oklahoma

Dear Sir: On behalf of the residents of New Jersey I take offense at Mr. Simons' opening statement regarding the decaying cities, row houses and junkyards in our state. Had he ever left Paterson or driven off the Turnpike he would have noticed beautiful towns and lush greenery. I have lived all my life in Glen Rock, one mile from Paterson. There are no apartments, just homes. And there are no junkyards. We are a town of 14,000 residents who take pride in our homes.

Because of the image fostered by people such as Mr. Simons, those from out-of-state reading your magazine may never experience the beauty of the Ramapo Mountains or the New Jersey shore. The Pine Barrens are lovely; we camp

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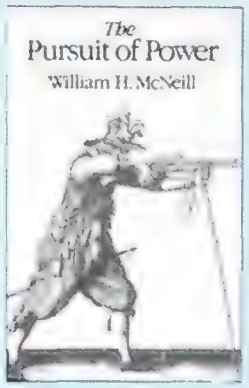

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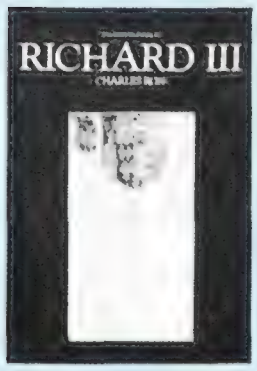

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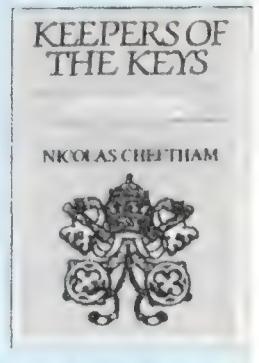

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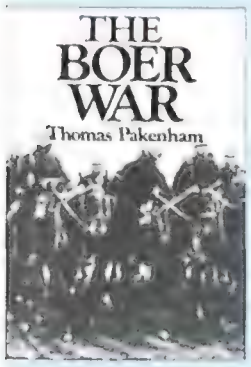

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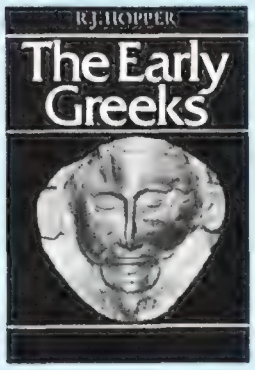

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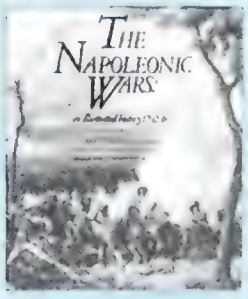

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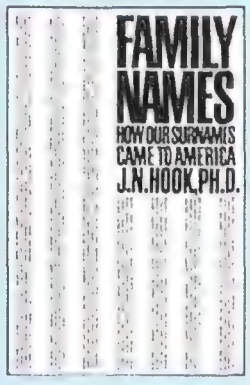

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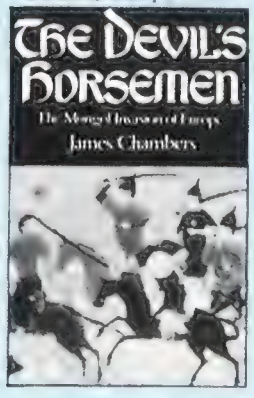

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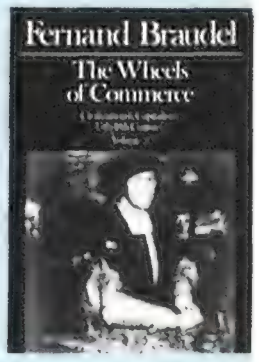

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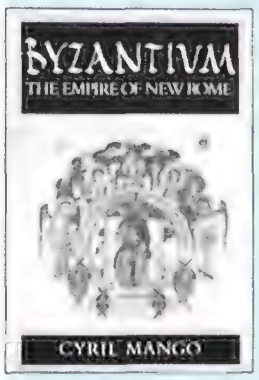

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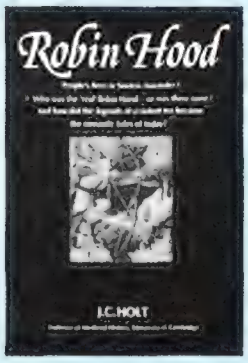

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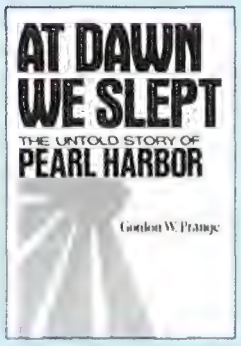

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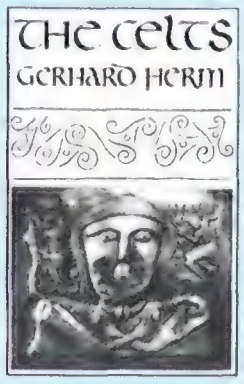

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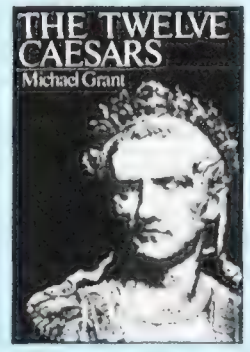

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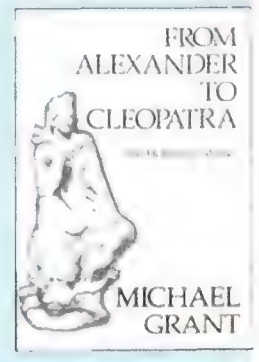

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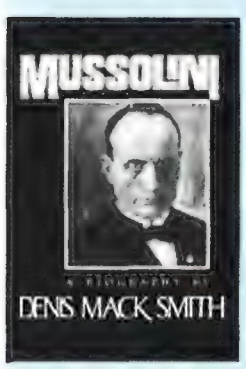

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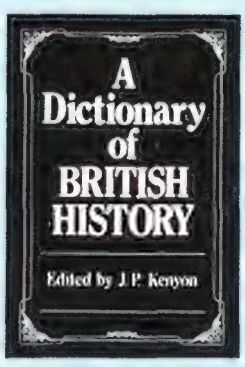

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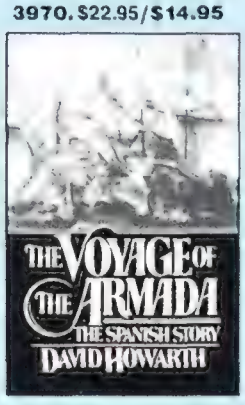

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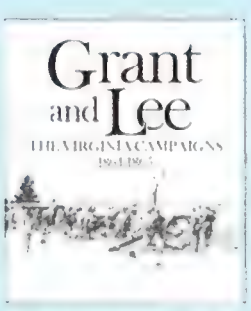

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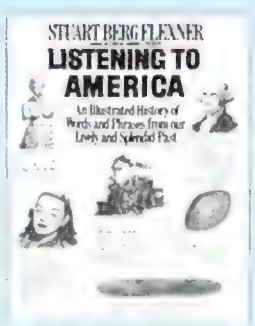

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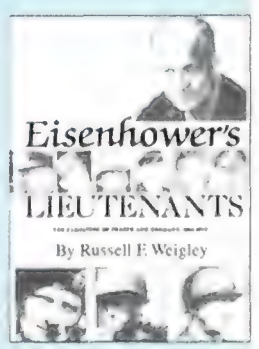

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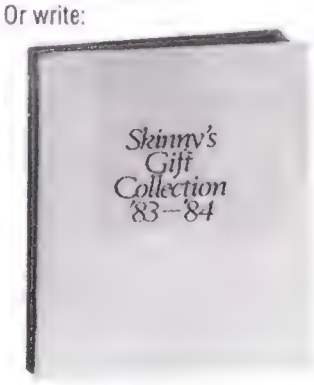

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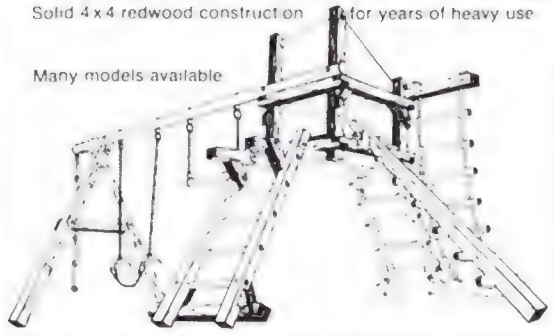

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there many weekends. But there is just as much beauty in Bergen County.
Diane B. Herrlett
Glen Rock, New Jersey

Dear Sir: Whatever "Piney" was slumbering within me began to awaken this past Memorial Day weekend, when my Toms River cousins took me on a drive through South Jersey and some of West Jersey and across the Black Horse Pike to Margate. Later, this old Piney came bolt upright when I read Mr. Simons' article.

I can still hear the crisp slicing sound of my ice skates severing cranberries on frozen bogs decades ago around Toms River. I can taste that "cedar rust" water and I can hear those frogs! I can still see cedar swamps, once in Brick Township, Ocean County—now endless tract housing and shopping centers called Bricktown.

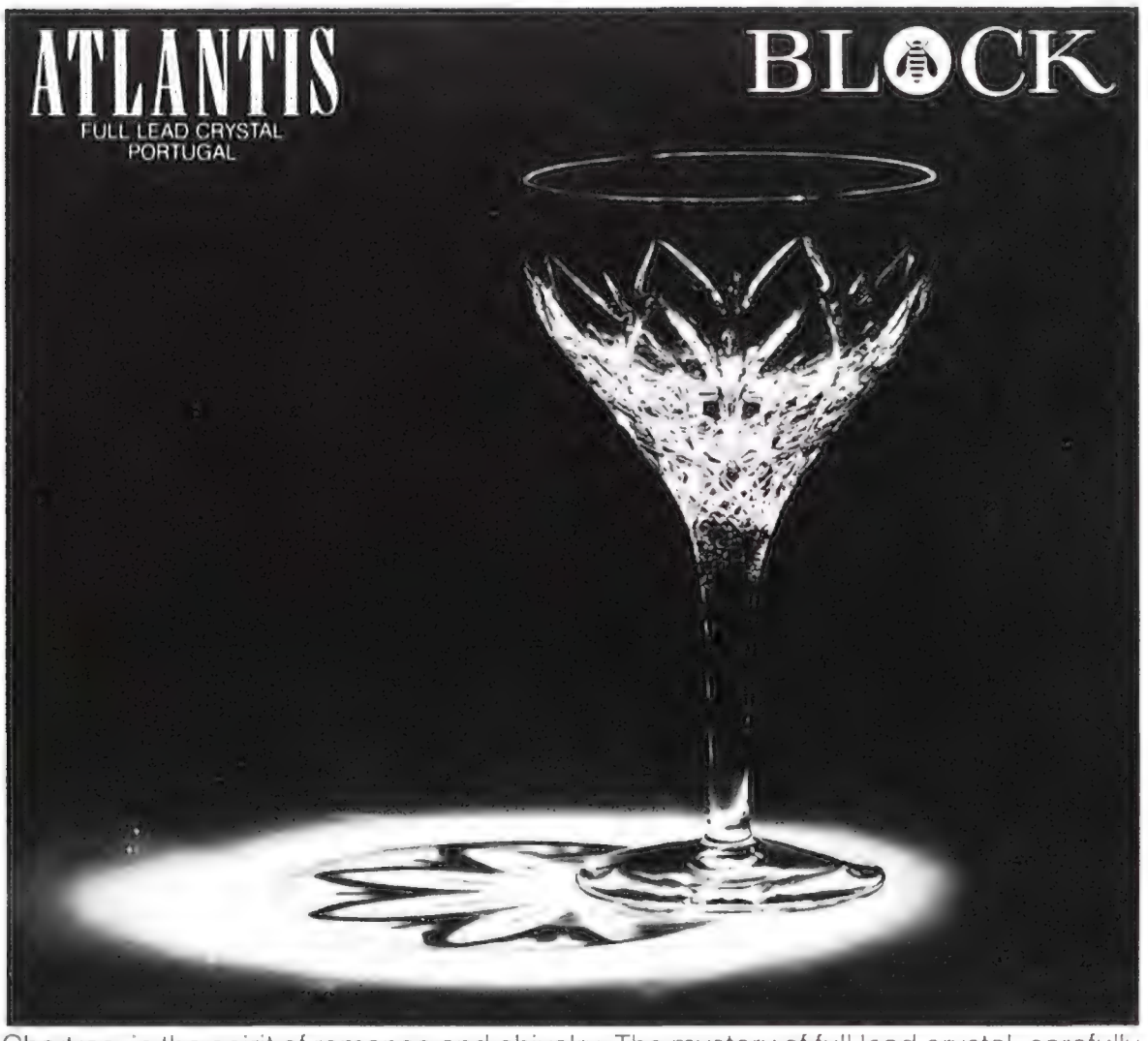
Mary-Ann Thompson, don't dare let that blight creep any farther south!
Rose Leslye Stern
Costa Mesa, California

George Adamson

Dear Sir: While Mr. Adamson's work to preserve the big cats, as well as his unending campaign against poaching in Kenya's Kora National Reserve, has been moderately publicized, I don't believe the public was aware of what a difficult, lonely and costly task it really is. Most of us are helpless to offer the labor of our hands to so worthy a cause, but our hearts and minds go out to Mr. Adamson. Maybe if enough of us care to help with contributions his won't be such a lonely battle.
Carol A. Frisbie
Arlington, Virginia

Dear Sir: How sad that one of the greatest wildlife preservationists of all time is living in poverty and unable to carry out his work. George Adamson deserves our greatest respect and financial support. Where can we send donations?
Carol Dudaska
Baton Rouge

The Kora Wildlife Preservation Trust is the charitable trust raising money for Adamson's and Tony Fitzjohn's work in Kenya. Contributions may be sent to them c/o Anthony Marrian, 25 Pages Walk, London SE1 4SB, or in care of their U.S. representative, Stan Singer, 422 North La Cienega Boulevard, Los Angeles, California 90048. Ed.



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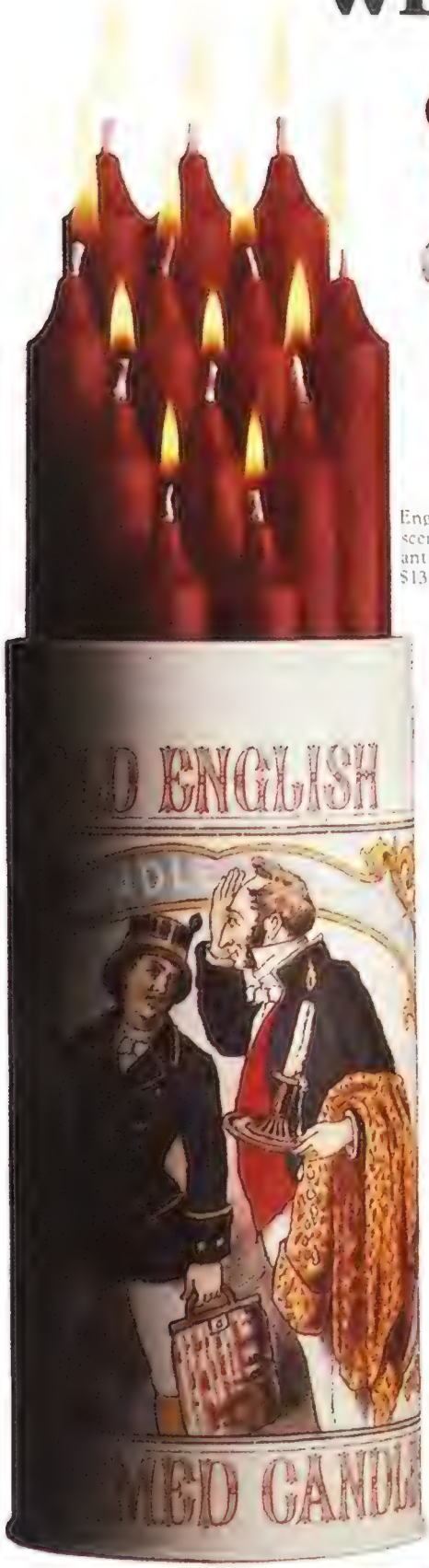

Handmade satin soldier Christmas ornaments, four for $[illegible]

Germanlead crystal angel by Goebel, $[illegible]

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Freeze-drying

Dear Sir: In her description of sublimation Janet Hopson states that "Gravitational attraction of the mass will bring some molecules slamming back to the surface [of a sublimating block of material]." The gravitational force is rarely of any consequence in the description of molecular events. It is very weak in comparison with the electrical forces between atoms and molecules.
David A. Cohen
Cambridge, Massachusetts
Mr. Cohen is correct. Ed.

Ferris and his wheel

Dear Sir: As one who grew up in St. Louis in the 1930s and heard countless tales of *the* Fair (there was only one!), I found your article both interesting and nostalgic. However, your story, ending with the 1906 demolition of the wheel, omits the World War II "treasure hunt" conducted to locate the 70-ton axle for a scrap-metal drive. I remember reading about the effort but can't recall whether it succeeded.
Ken Pollock
Annandale, Virginia
According to Leland Hilligoss at the St. Louis Public Library, the axle was thought to have been buried in the western section of Forest Park. Locating it would have been a plum for the city's war effort. But despite a diligent search with metal detectors, it was never found. Ed.

D'Annunzio

Dear Sir: There is no letter "c" in Rijeka, the town D'Annunzio captured after World War I. And the town is in Hrvatsko Primorje, or the Croatian littoral, not in my native Dalmacija (Dalmatia).
John G. Cernos
Burbank, California
Mr. Cernos is correct. Ed.

Origins

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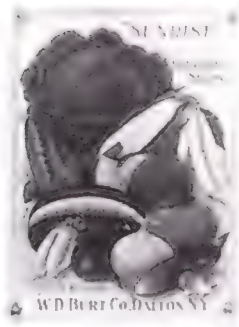

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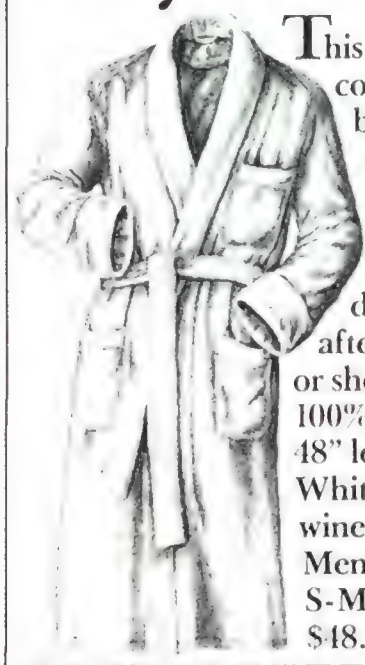

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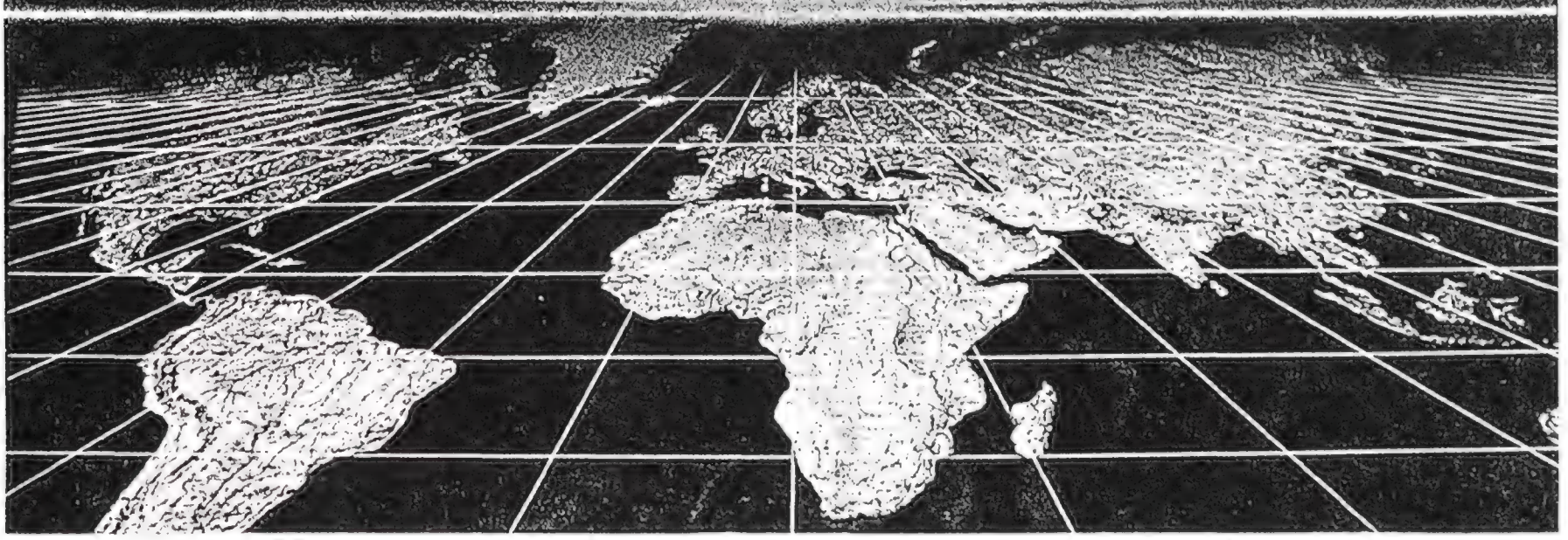

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NUCLEAR ELECTRICITY
Who Stands Where

At a time of intense criticism of nuclear-generated electricity, an independent academic study found surprisingly strong support among persons considered well informed on the subject.

The study was part of a large project directed by Professors Stanley Rothman and S. Robert Lichter and sponsored by the Research Institute of International Change at Columbia University, Smith College, and the Graduate Program in Science, Technology, and Public Policy at George Washington University.

A survey of scientists

In mid-1980, little more than a year after the accident at Three Mile Island, a detailed questionnaire on energy issues was sent to a purely random sample of: (1) scientists listed in *American Men and Women of Science,* (2) scientists in energy-related disciplines, and (3) scientists in fields closely related to nuclear energy.

Asked how best to proceed with nuclear energy (see Table 1), an overwhelming majority from all groups felt that the nation should continue with the development of nuclear energy.

Table 1
VIEWS OF SCIENTISTS ON HOW TO PROCEED WITH NUCLEAR ENERGY

Random sample	Energy Experts	Nuclear Experts	
53%	70%	92%	Proceed rapidly
36	25	8	Proceed slowly
7	4	0	Halt development
3	1	0	Dismantle plants

Most felt we should proceed rapidly.

This high level of support is echoed in Table 2, which notes positive attitudes toward the acceptability of risk posed by nuclear plants; the scientists' personal willingness to have a nuclear plant located where they live; and the scientists' confidence that enough knowledge exists to solve the scien-

Table 2
SCIENTISTS' ATTITUDES ON NUCLEAR ENERGY ISSUES

Random Sample	Energy Experts	Nuclear Experts	
65%	75%	99%	Risks acceptable
69	80	98	Willing to locate nuclear plants in their cities
75	91	100	Enough knowledge to solve nuclear problems

tific and technical problems posed by nuclear energy.

Expanding the study

Such positive results were somewhat surprising to the researchers. They decided to expand their study. This was a time when public concern was high and the nuclear regulatory environment was toughening considerably, so the researchers wondered whether decision makers in the nuclear field would be as wary of nuclear power plants as the man in the street.

To find out, the researchers mailed questionnaires to top decision makers in seven different categories:

- the nuclear power industry
- the financial community
- the Nuclear Regulatory Commission
- other regulatory agencies involved with nuclear energy
- members of Congress who were involved with nuclear policy
- outside experts (scientists, social scientists and consultants involved with nuclear energy issues)
- groups with professed anti-nuclear views.

The results were again surprising. As Table 3 indicates, outside experts and financiers were as united in their support of nuclear energy development as were industry executives. The only significant opposition came from the heads of the anti-nuclear groups. A few members of Congress and some regulators also expressed opposition. (It should be noted that response from Congress was low in number.)

Table 3
POLICY PREFERENCES ON NUCLEAR DEVELOPMENT

Anti-Nuclear Groups	Industry	Financiers	NRC	Other Regulators	Congress	Outside Experts	
0%	93%	94%	65%	54%	40%	69%	Proceed rapidly
0	5	6	35	25	40	26	Proceed slowly
33	2	0	0	8	20	5	Halt development
67	0	0	0	13	0	0	Dismantle plants

Table 4 reinforces the pattern. Majorities of all decision-making sectors except the anti-nuclear groups believed nuclear plants safe, the risks acceptable, the problems solvable, and they would be willing to live near a reactor.

The questionnaire also sought to learn what potential problems within the industry were considered most serious. Most of the anti-nuclear groups' leaders rated most of the problems as "very serious." None of the problems was considered that serious by a majority of the other decision makers. Only high-level waste disposal was considered very serious by a majority of persons within any of these seven groups.

The Nuclear Waste Policy Act of 1982 has addressed this problem by establishing a procedure and a timetable leading to the safe disposal of nuclear waste. The concept of burying the waste in stable geological formations deep in the earth has been endorsed by the National Academy of Sciences.

Table 4
GENERAL ATTITUDES TOWARD NUCLEAR ENERGY

Anti-Nuclear Groups	Industry	Financiers	NRC	Other Regulators	Congress	Outside Experts	
100%	2%	0%	4%	37%	25%	12%	Risks unacceptable
0	94	61	72	60	43	74	Very confident we can solve problems
100	2	0	7	28	28	5	Plants unsafe
0	97	83	94	60	53	88	Would live near reactors

What sources can we count on today?

There was more agreement when the leaders were asked which energy sources would make the greatest contributions to our needs by the year 2000. The questionnaire listed 16 possible sources ranging alphabetically from biomass to wind power. As Table 5 illustrates, most groups viewed coal as the primary energy source, followed by oil and then either natural gas, nuclear fission, or conservation. The anti-nuclear groups are the only dissenters, rating conservation as their top choice, solar heat as a major contributor and dismissing nuclear fission altogether. No other group ranks conservation higher than fourth, expects such a significant contribution from solar heat, or writes off nuclear energy altogether.

Table 5
RESOURCES THAT WILL MAKE MAJOR CONTRIBUTIONS TO OUR ENERGY NEEDS

Anti-Nuclear Groups	Industry	Financiers	NRC	Other Regulators	Congress	Outside Experts	
58%	96%	78%	94%	75%	91%	95%	Coal
50	57	50	63	84	67	79	Oil
42	44	41	34	48	52	67	Natural gas
0	52	24	28	52	25	33	Nuclear fission
42	1	0	3	12	10	2	Solar heat
100	16	29	19	50	52	38	Conservation

The researchers found it especially surprising that government agencies which frequently have been critical of nuclear energy were nevertheless looking to this resource for a large contribution. In fact, the other regulators' projection precisely matched that of the nuclear power industry.

An ongoing debate

The debate continues over the risks and rewards of nuclear electricity. In the heat of the debate, it's easy to get the impression that almost everyone has turned against nuclear electricity. This study shows that such an impression would be incorrect.

All energy sources have problems—environmental, safety, reliability, cost. Perhaps someday we'll find a perfect energy source, but until then we must provide for America's energy needs with sources we can count on today.

For a full report on the surveys discussed here, send for our free brochure, "Nuclear Electricity—Who Stands Where." Just fill out this coupon and mail it to:

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Around the Mall and beyond

Dr. Ride came to the Smithsonian during the gasping heat of July and took the old place by storm. Dr. Ride is, of course, our first woman to be blasted into space, and in our irreverent, egalitarian, American way, we all speak of her as Sally Ride.

I got to meet her for a moment, and felt comfortable enough with her to let the word "Sally" slip out after a few remarks. She asks for it by being so easy to get along with, and anyway, I'm enough older to get away with it without sounding like a news photographer of the "Hey-Queen-look-over-here!" school.

All this came about when the five astronauts of the space shuttle *Challenger* visited Washington to see the sights and let themselves be seen by a host of summer tourists. Dr. Ride and Capt. Robert L. Crippen, commander of the flight, showed up at the National Air and Space Museum early in the morning to appear on four TV news shows: ABC's *Good Morning America*, the *CBS Morning News*, NBC's *Today* and CNN's *Daybreak*.

I watched a bit of the first program on our home set, then dived into the car and whizzed in to the museum in time to catch the CNN spot. I watched and listened with interest as they did their stuff with CNN's newscaster who was interviewing them by live remote from his own studio. Crippen and Ride handle themselves very well in an interview, I noted, and determined to try to find some question they hadn't been asked previously. Then they were all through and several of us Smithsonian hangers-on were introduced.

My first question had to do with flying —a thing that I have done a little of. I was fascinated by those heart-stoppingly good

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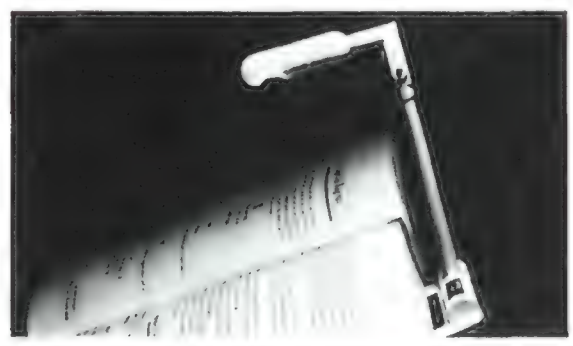

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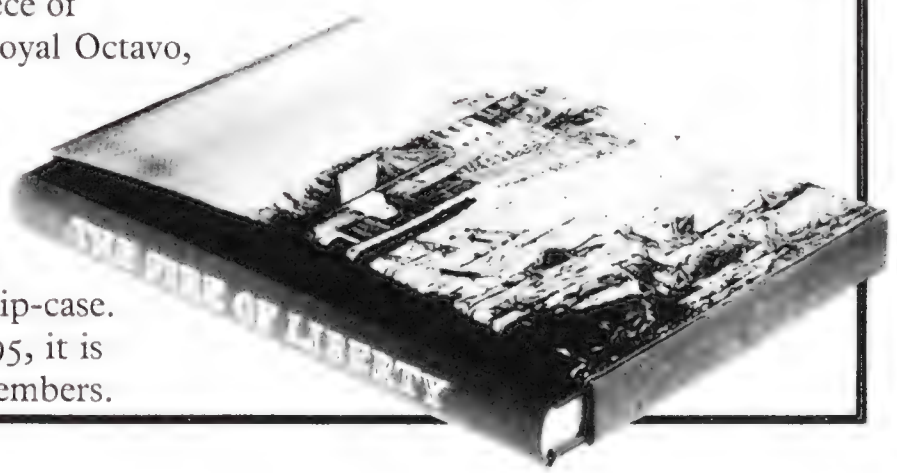

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landings the shuttle people invariably (knock on wood) make—especially because I have an amazing knack for making really rotten landings under practically every circumstance when I fly. "How do you do it?" I asked the two.

"Practice, practice, practice," said Crippen. And I knew I had stumbled right on one of the things he's been asked *every* time he's ever been interviewed.

I grabbed for a slightly more technical aspect of those landings: the way the nosewheel is kept off the ground for so long. Crippen explained that the ship comes in so fast—a bit more than 200 knots—that the lift from the foil-shaped fuselage can hold the nosewheel up until the speed drops off to maybe 165 knots. Actually, the pilot deliberately "rotates" the plane forward at about 180 knots to get the nosewheel down.

When the nosewheel does come down, it's short enough to give the huge airspacecraft a slight nose-down attitude—"about four percent negative," Crippen said. This serves to keep the vehicle firmly on the runway and also to slow it.

Thinking about all that, I asked both astronauts if they ever got in a light plane, a little Cessna maybe, and just goofed off for the fun of it.

Crippen nodded toward Dr. Ride. "She does that sort of thing," he said. And indeed she agreed that she did and that she found it relaxing and enjoyable. Captain Crippen said that all the planes he's ever flown have been pretty heavy. The lightest one was the T-34 he learned on. "I'd hate having the wind push me around on a landing," he said.

My years as an aviator were back in World War II, an era captured forever in the paintings of Frank Wootton—one of them appears at right, and I'll have more to say about Wootton later—and so I asked the astronauts a question out of my own nostalgia. Didn't they agree that the little P-26 was one of the most beautiful exhibits in the Air and Space Museum? They looked at me with some bemusement, for the P-26, the tiny, dancing fighter of the pre-World War II U.S. Army Air Corps, with its fixed wheels and open cockpit, is not everyone's dish. But they were polite about it.

All five of the *Challenger* astronauts showed up again that same evening for a formal greeting from both the Smithson-

Wootton depicts Typhoons of RAF 121 Wing taking off through Normandy dust.

DISCOVER A DIFFERENT WORLD...

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ian and NASA followed by a reception. I hurried over to that event, too, and so got a look at Capt. Frederick H. Hauck, the pilot, Col. John M. Fabian and Dr. Norman E. Thagard, as well as at my two acquaintances of the morning. A couple of Congresswomen made little bows in the direction of Dr. Ride, who certainly expresses equality of the sexes. One of them pointed out that it took 127 years to elect a woman to Congress and that Dr. Ride had done a lot better than that getting into space.

Then we were all greeted by the head of the Wonder Woman Foundation. If the title seems strange to you, it's a philanthropic spin-off from DC Comics, which gives us Wonder Woman—and a lot of her equally admirable and capable friends. The Foundation provides awards to women of 40 and over—a revelation that produced some mutual eyeing in the audience. I mean, once you've accepted an award from the Wonder Woman Foundation, there goes your cover.

The speaker made it clear that the Foundation's interest in Dr. Ride had nothing whatsoever to do with her age. My own guess is that it was just a little gesture from one Wonder Woman to another.

As a matter of fact, the invitation to this evening came jointly from the Smithsonian, NASA, the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues and the Wonder Woman Foundation.

A reply to the Wonder Woman organization was requested. I made the requisite phone call, and a man answered, which threw me for a moment. My secretary quickly pointed out that I should have asked to speak to his mother.

The astronauts led us through their "home movies," taken, as they said, on their "vacation trip." They had been taught photography well, for the quality of the film was exceptional. All home movies should be taken in space. Many of them should be left there. But these revealed, among many other things, the ultimate answer to all my questions about landing the shuttle. The movie view from the cockpit showed the nose of the craft aimed straight at a far-distant line—the merest tick mark—on the hazy, featureless floor of Earth. This was the strip, and the shuttle was simply diving straight at it.

In no time (admittedly, the film was speeded up along here), the mark grew

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into a very long landing strip on the desert, and the attitude of the nose changed so that the runway now stretched straight ahead. Then we gradually settled down upon it, reaching for it as it flashed past at blistering speed (208 knots is some kind of hot landing!). And so, sitting on the edge of my movie-theater seat at NASM, I helped land *Challenger*.

Dr. Ride gave the museum "something that was very close to me on the flight": her "in-flight coverall garment," namely her jacket, trousers and shirt. Museum director Walter J. Boyne accepted gratefully and agreed that he'd let her borrow them back if she needed them on another flight, but Captain Crippen said he thought NASA could scratch up enough money to pay for a new set of clothes for Ride.

Another event occurs at the National Air and Space Museum this month: the opening of an art show. The exhibit contains the work of Frank Wootton, now in his 70s, who has been painting airplanes since he volunteered for the Royal Air Force in World War II. His planes, from the SE 5 fighter of 1917 to the incredible vertical-takeoff Harriers that fought in the Falkland Islands, are meticulous enough to delight the most demanding aviation buff, yet are also fully alive, as only an artist could make them.

You can hear their engines and smell the exhausts, and also sense the mistiness of the clouds and the dewy grass of the airfield under your feet. For Wootton is as fascinated with his native British scene (and especially horses) as he is with aircraft. Some of his best stuff seems to concentrate as much on the lush fields and tall trees of home as on the planes that are being readied for takeoff.

Similarly, his in-flight paintings handle the sky as a tangible subject (which, of course, it is) with English clouds that may be wispy or puffy or high and flat and sprayed with sunset, or boiling and bubbling beneath the featured aircraft in shafts of moonlight. If you've ever seen a painting by Constable, you'll recognize the touch here. And in reading about Wootton you'll find that, sure enough, he was influenced by the great landscapist (SMITHSONIAN, May 1983). "At Home in the Sky: The Aviation Art of Frank Wootton" opens on September 15 for a one-year stint in the Flight and the Arts Gallery of the Air and Space Museum.
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When I went to England, I just knew it was going to be the trip of a lifetime. I had saved and planned for years. Then, out of the blue, I got a chance to spend a few days in an honest-to-goodness 13th Century castle on the moors in Yorkshire.

What I overlooked was the English idea of central heating. After I left London the weather suddenly turned shivering cold and wet. By the time I got to my destination I was too tired and miserable to care about picturesque charm and history. All I could think of was how uncomfortable I was going to be in an old, drafty castle.

Sure enough, my room was *freezing*. But when I crawled into bed I was dumbfounded to discover how marvelously cozy it was despite the lack of heat.

There was a big, puffy down comforter on top. Underneath, the sheets and even the pillowcases were flannel. And not that flimsy pilled kind we used to have at summer camp. They were luxuriously soft, thick, real *100% cotton flannel*.

I felt utterly pampered in plushy comfort. And I never slept better, because I wasn't buried under layers of heavy bedclothes.

Then and there I decided I was going to have sheets like that at home. What a great way to save on heating costs at night and still feel rich and special!

When I got back to the United States I soon learned that the flannel sheets in stores didn't feel or look the same at all. The polyester in them made such a difference.

Finally, I got so frustrated I went to Damart, a company in my hometown, and suggested they sell real 100% cotton flannel sheets and pillowcases. They loved the idea.

And that's how Agatha's Cozy Corner was born. We talked it over and added heavenly down comforters and some other things as well as the sheets. And now I'd be happy to send you my catalog. It's printed in color, and gives you the pictures and story of everything we sell. Just use the coupon for your free copy.

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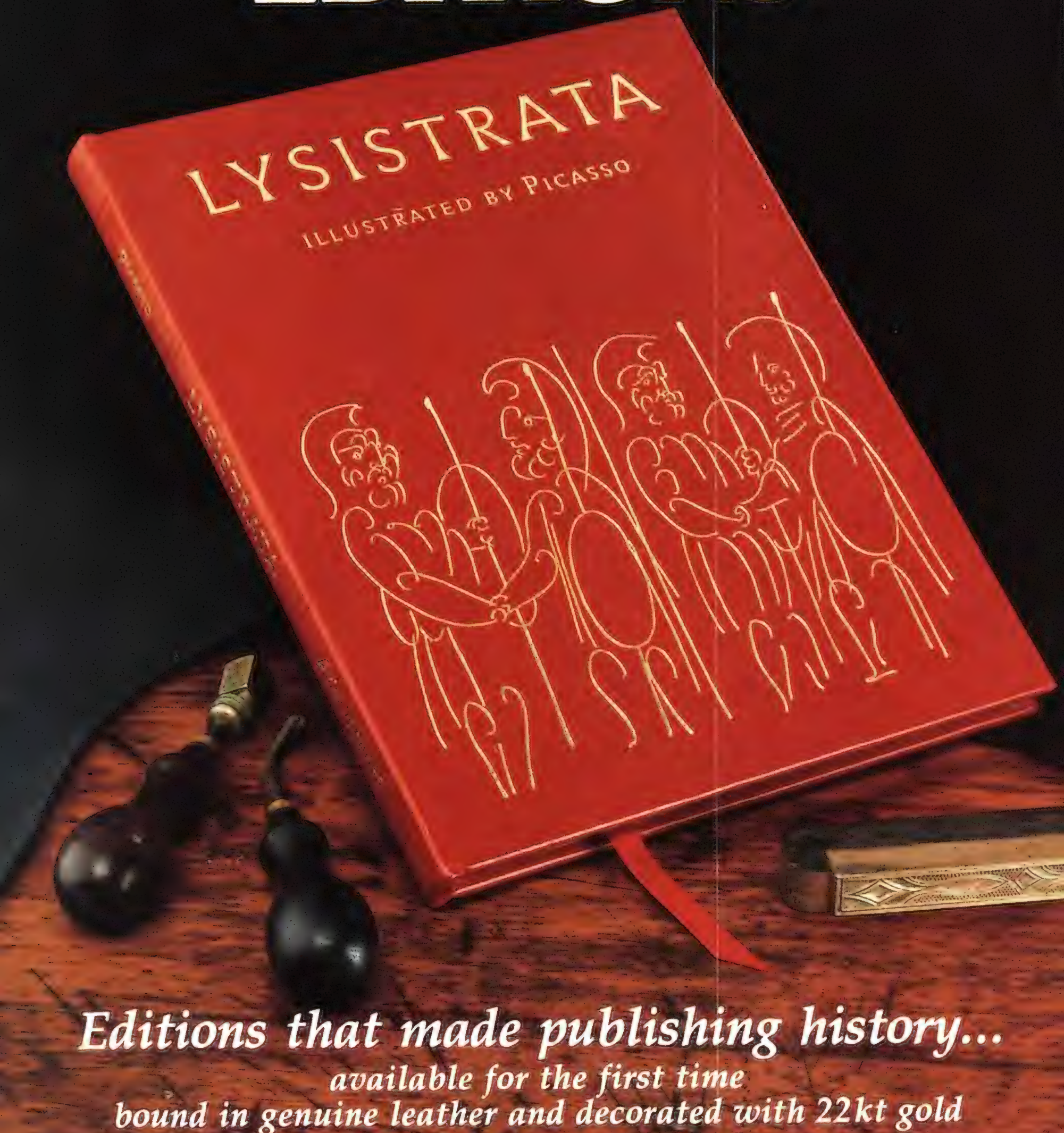

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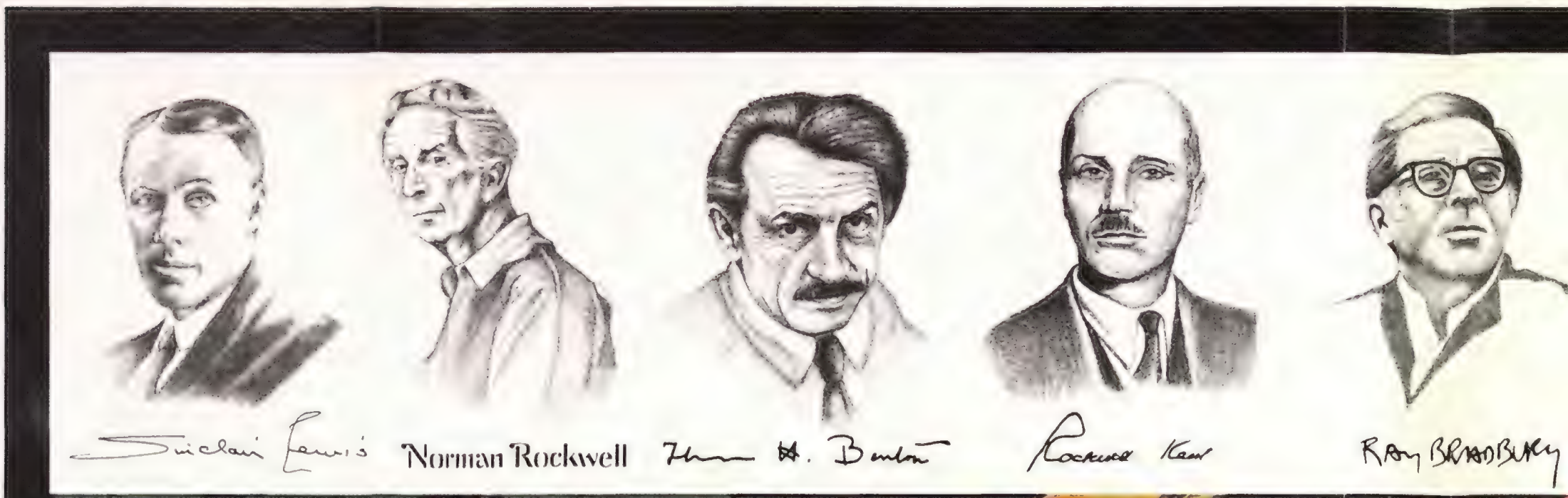

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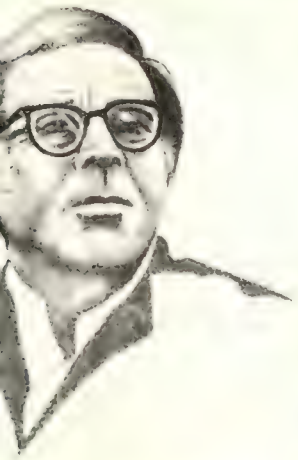
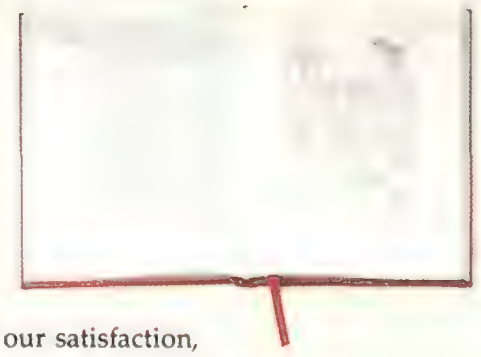
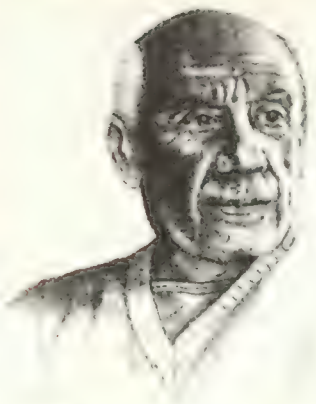


LYSISTRATA

No other artist in our century achieved the fame of Picasso—a legend in his own lifetime. Our editors approached Picasso at the pinnacle of his career, in the 1930s—to render illustrations for an edition of *Lysistrata*, the classic Greek comedy of love and war by Aristophanes. Much to our satisfaction, Picasso accepted.





After many long months, the works were ready. Our messenger in Paris was exultant...Picasso had produced six etched copper plates and *forty* pencil drawings! He'd given us a treasure trove of important new works.

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Phenomena, comment and notes

Even a marsh under the stress of city living can surprise you all over again if you dare to miss a few weeks

My marsh is very like the vegetable gardens I used to plant so ambitiously: turn my back and green growing things run amok. In May the place still looked neat, under control, almost parklike. I stayed away a few weeks in the early summer, and returned in the heat and humidity of a Sunday in July to find it completely changed. Nature's prodigality hit me like the proverbial ton of bricks.

The path to the marsh leads through a woods, where I had always dallied to look at birds I could readily see elsewhere. One could see almost to the water on one side and to the highway on the other. By July the path is more like a road cut that frequently passes under arched bridges. Wild grapevines have met in the air and grown into each other in thick tangles. The sides of the trail are impenetrable walls of green, so dense that every birdcall is a frustration. As I drip in the hot haze, the word "jungle" slides wetly into my mind. I hear a catbird's bubbling notes, sounding like the bird is half strangling itself to get them out, the rapid-tonguing chortle of a red-bellied woodpecker, the buzzing of chickadees higher in the canopy. These I do not need to see. But I cannot see the bird making a proper jungle sound, a loud mocking laugh, and so must walk on without knowing.

In the few open spaces along the trail, vines have covered the bushes and low trees with a rolling blanket of green. Individual plants have disappeared into this green amorphousness, although here

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and there the results seem to take new shape, one that of a human head. An area that had appeared to have been bulldozed is now chest high with shrubbery, supporting its share of the green blanket.

In the marsh proper, where the path turns out toward the point, the mud flats are no more. The thin green shoots that appeared in spring are now a solid mass of vegetation, turning sunlight, air and water into living matter for all they are worth. Swallows swoop overhead, the odd redwing perches on the odd metal post, dragonflies dart here and there, but otherwise it is a closed world. I could wade in, or even lie down in it for a sparrow's-eye view, but its very alienness makes me shy.

The point itself, nothing more than dirt over building debris, is bursting. The network of side paths to the water, the tracing of leaf veins on flat ground in the spring, now disappear into solid vegetation. Where one could stroll, one now ducks and pushes through. Even among the broken brick in the intertidal zone, green shoots have worked their way up, pushing farther out into the water.

The system appears to be working. On the south side, half a dozen turtles, some the size of butter plates and some more like dinner plates, have hauled themselves out of the water. A black duck hen herds six ducklings along the shore. On the north side a platter-size snapping turtle, snout like the prow of a ship, tail serrated like a dinosaur, rises to the surface. A kingfisher watches the water from a tree, while out in the river cormorants are diving for fish and resting on old pilings. A great blue heron steps out of the channel in the marsh, spots a human intruder and turns and flies back up the channel, taking care not to rise too far above the reeds.

The whole place is simmering in the July sun. The water is turbid, the air is hazy. As the temperature rises into the upper 90s, more and more swallows come to rest in the branches of the downed trees. The kingfisher has its mouth open. Off the point, an osprey swoops down to take a fish in its talons. It climbs slowly, flying across the river to the Maryland shore. The bird and its prey disappear into the haze, their image breaking up in the shimmering waves of heat.

Just like my gardens, the marsh has got away from me. The lushness overwhelms. I faithfully lug the knapsack full of field

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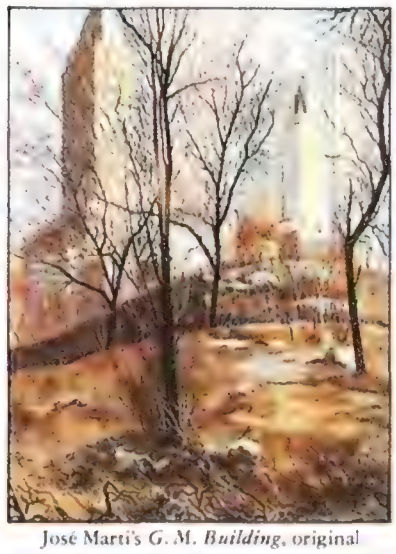

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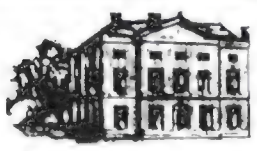

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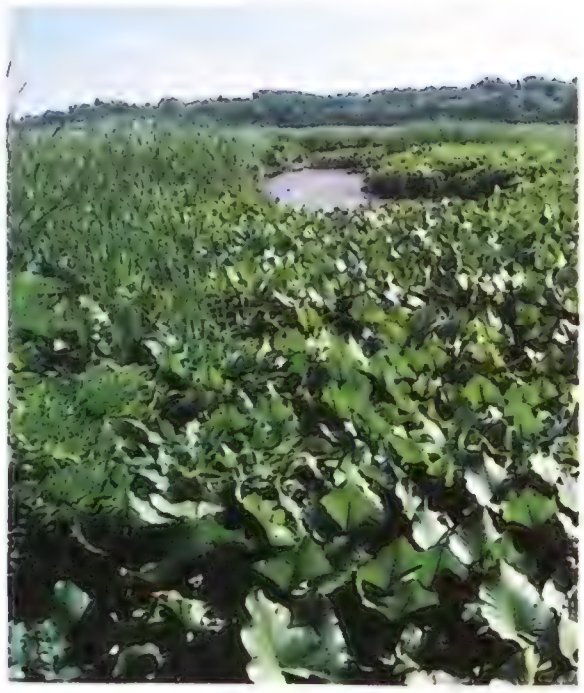

The marsh turns lush in the simmering heat of summer in the nation's capital.

guides up and down the trail, but more and more often just slip it to the ground wherever I stop, leaving the books for another time. Every trip, I resolve firmly that I will break this glorious garden down into manageable sections to learn the plants and something about them. Instead of staring across the marsh, I will look only at what I can touch where I stand, and not leave the spot until I have everything nailed down. One square yard at a time. Is this shrub with the very narrow leaves—one I know I've seen in wet spots in fields—a black willow? The guides leave me uncertain. The tree behind me with the large rounded leaves could be a swamp cottonwood, but it is difficult to be sure. I put the guides down and raise the glasses for another look around the marsh, always afraid that I am missing something.

As a child in Aruba I spent a lot of time watching. I would perch on the edges of oases in the coral flats out behind my town, circular depressions where sand had collected and scrub trees grew. I would sit motionless and watch the lizards and occasional hermit crab go about their business. In the mangroves I would lie across the branches above an opening in the tangle of roots and keep track of the fish that appeared, sometimes giving them fanciful names of childhood and sometimes referring rigorously to Beebe's *Field Book of the Shore Fishes of Bermuda*. In the water I would drift over the reef in face mask and flippers, just looking. (I gave up spearfishing when I discovered

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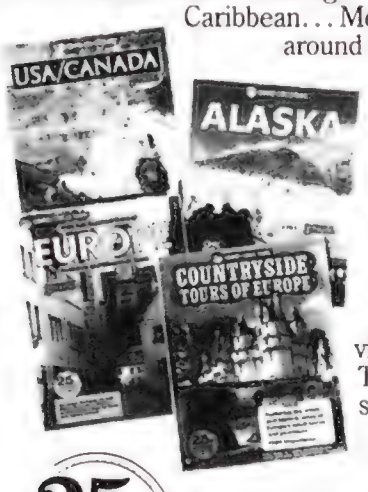

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that my sharpened and barbed-brass curtain rods, powered by strength of arm pulling against strips of inner tube, bounced harmlessly off intended targets.)

More and more I find myself doing the same thing in the marsh. I'll find a likely spot and sit there for an hour, partly concealed by the vegetation, to see what happens, and something generally does. An open channel through the marsh will appear lifeless in the summer sun (p. 36), until a swallow suddenly dips down to drink on the wing or a muskrat swims placidly across my field of view. On the little bay south of the point, a great blue heron steps into the reeds when a man appears, rowing a single scull. I watch the heron watching the boat, and silently applaud its nerves as it stands its ground while a kingfisher flies away. The rower moves back out into the river, and the heron resumes its hunt along the shore, stealthily raising a foot and then easing it forward and into the water with no splash, no noise at all. It trips once in the muddy water, and catches itself with a wing against the reeds without moving its feet or scaring the fish.

Sitting still appears to be my style. It seems to take about 15 minutes for the birds that were there to forget about me or for new birds to arrive, unaware of my presence. A northern flicker can seem enormous as it flies, rattling softly, right in front of my face and alights a couple of yards away. The temptation is growing to take the next step and strap a folding chair to the pack when I set off into the marsh. One with arms, so I can prop my elbows and hold the binoculars steady. As long as I am loading up, I'll add a small telescope and tripod and set up a regular bird observatory every time I sit down. The ultimate touch will be a boat, small enough to move into the marsh with the tide, a floating blind to anchor on some watery bend.

With or without all this paraphernalia, I will force myself to cope with these biological riches. Perhaps I'll use a quota system: identify one new shrub or aquatic plant each trip, match one bird with its song for the next time when I cannot see it. When that wren with its tail cocked up over its back finishes feeding on top of those deep green reeds, break out the books to find out what the bird might have been eating. But there is time, all the time in the world. The marsh has been there for a long time, and will be there tomorrow, next week, next century.

The marsh is, relatively, a quiet place. Walkers on the point and fishermen in their boats make very little noise. Every so often, however, an outboard runabout will come roaring through the channel that separates the point from the north island, heeled over in a tight turn at full throttle. Then the boat is gone, the noise diminishes, and all that remains is the wake. The waves, perhaps a foot high, look huge in this protected water. But they die quickly when they hit the reeds, dissipating completely before they have traveled 15 feet. All that horsepower, all that kinetic energy, is nothing to the marsh. On a larger scale, we have dredged it, we have polluted it and still the marsh endures. There are larger, prettier marshes farther down the river. But this one is special. If an urban marsh on a river once badly polluted can survive, there is hope for us all.

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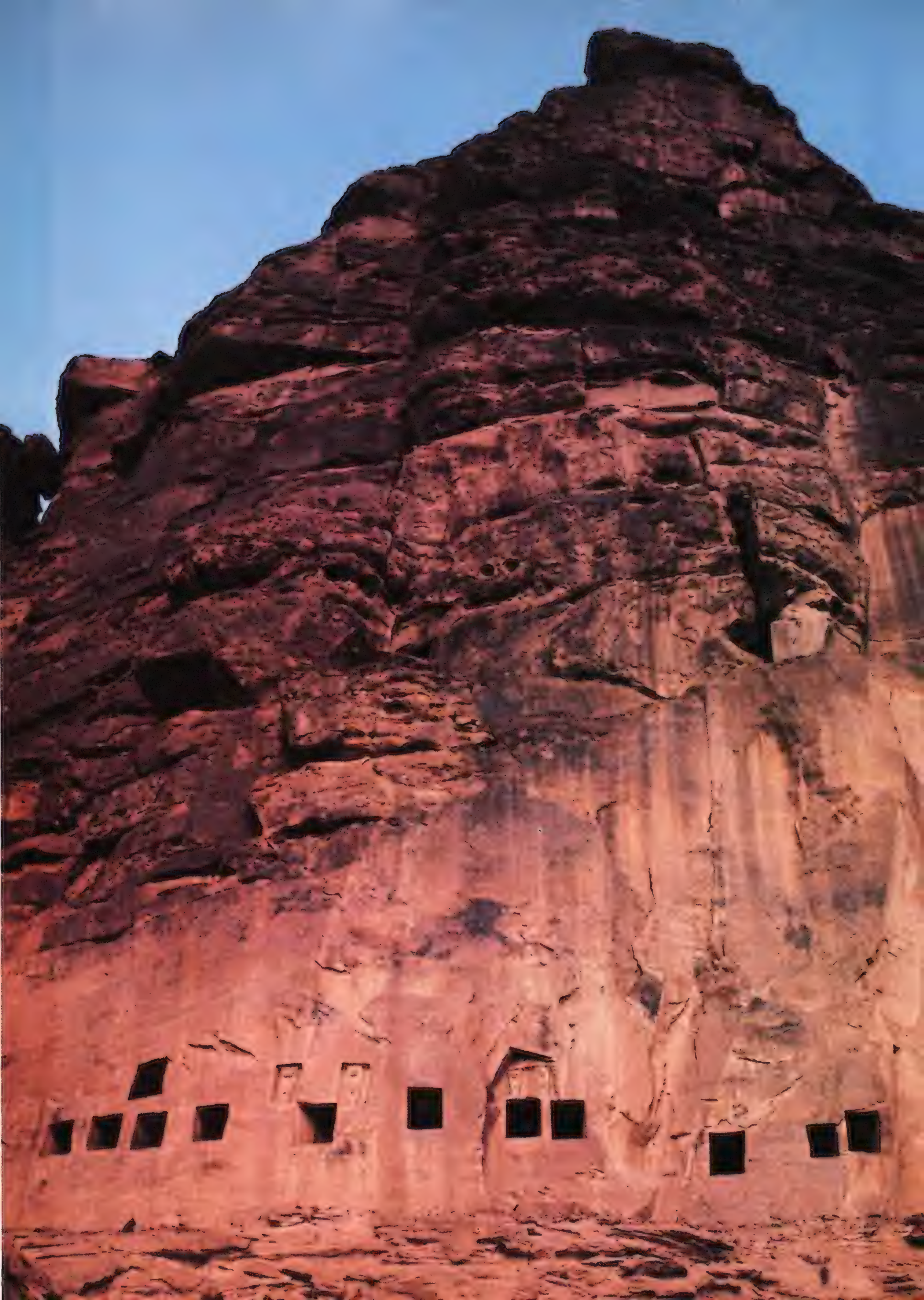
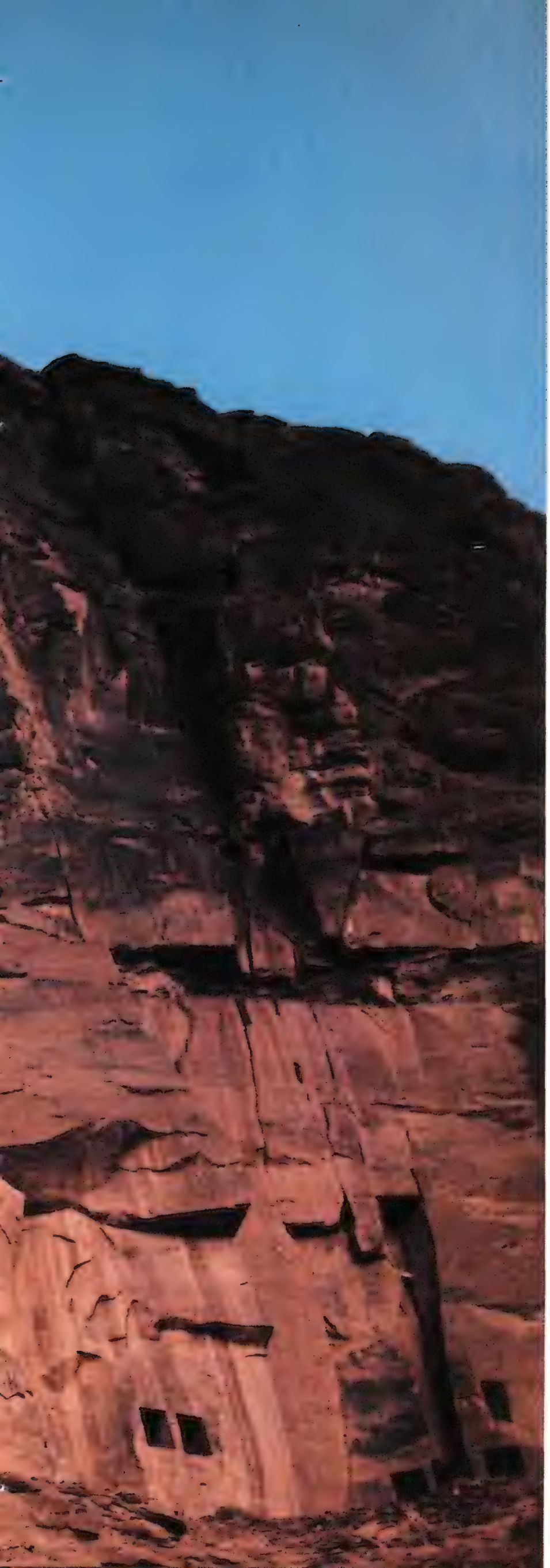




By Dora Jane Hamblin

Treasures of the Sands

Saudi Arabia's burgeoning archaeological effort has laid bare fossils and Stone Age relics and the crumbling remains of great cities

Lost somewhere between the wistful old image of exotic camel caravans carrying "perfumes of Araby" and the current one of oil-rich sheikhs careening over sand dunes in their custom air-conditioned four-wheel drives is the real story of the Arabian peninsula.

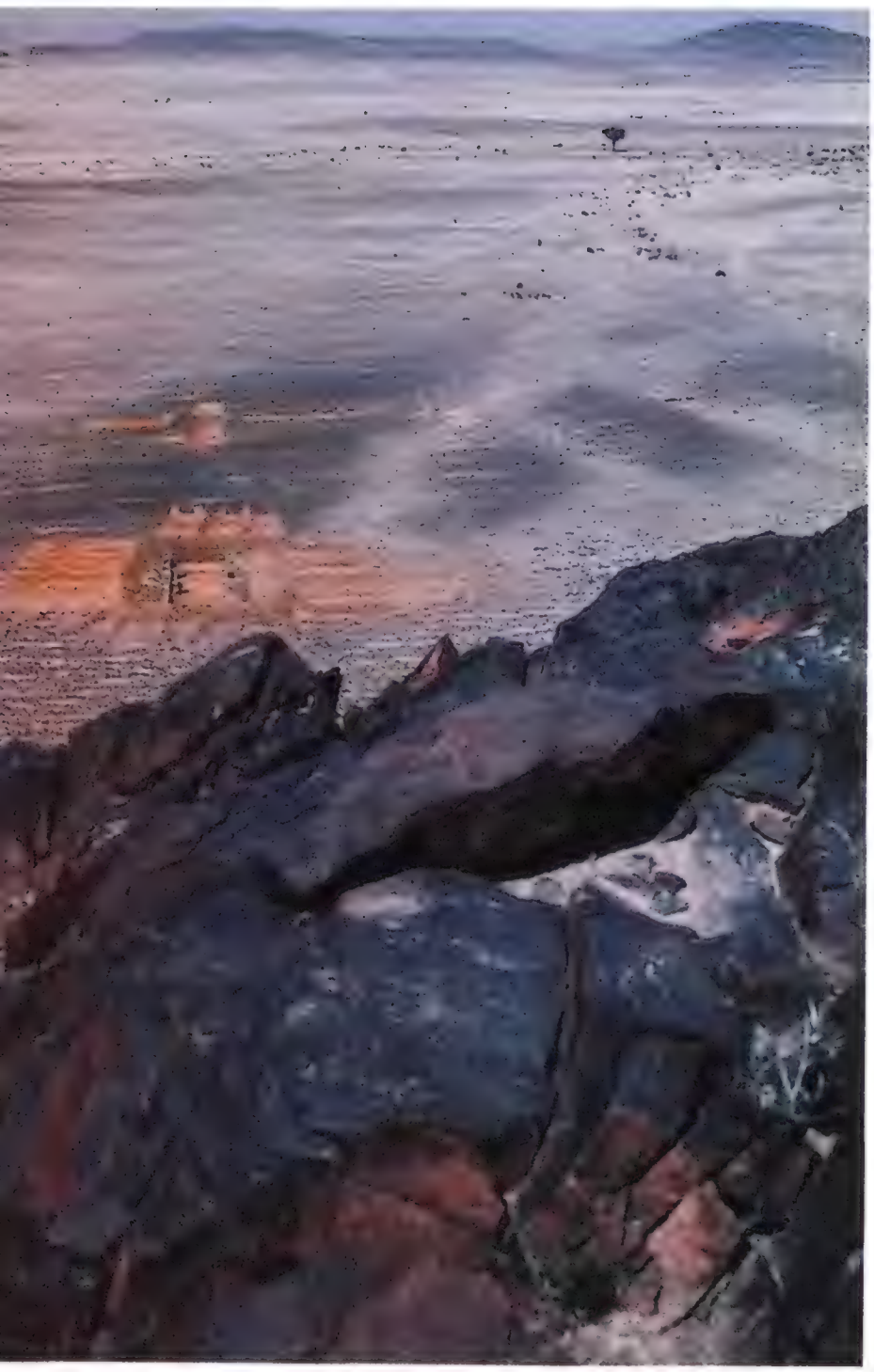
Most of the peninsula today is the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, an enormous sandpile of a country about one-fourth the size of the United States, with one-seventh of its population density and close to double its per capita income. Though it has some 9,000-foot mountains, a few small streams and some dramatic oases, by and large it fits the Western concept of endless sun-drenched desert.

The entire peninsula is in fact a sort of geographical accident which for millennia served as both barrier and trade route between the early civilizations around its periphery. Its sporadic importance to the wider world has always been because it possessed—or could deliver—something very valuable to other cultures. Nowadays it is oil. Three thousand years ago it was frankincense and myrrh, spices, gold. Between the two periods its chief offering was the Islamic religion, which exploded out of Arabia 1,350 years ago, in one

To honor their dead, Lihyanites of Kingdom of Dedan carved lion reliefs above sandstone tombs in 600 B.C.

Photographs by Wayne Eastep

Saudi Arabia uncovers its past



Igneous andesite in foreground was raw material for 300,000-year-old Dawadimi tool site on plain below.

of the most dazzling conquests in history, to transform utterly the life of the Levant and North Africa.

Nothing half so dramatic as the force of Islam happened again for more than a millennium, but when it did it not only caused upheaval in the West but also changed Saudi Arabia forever. The change was oil, oceans of oil, discovered in the 1930s but achieving its full impact with the oceans of money which began to roll in during the 1970s. With all that money came a rush to modernize that has impelled the kingdom with wrenching and bewildering suddenness from the 17th century into the 21st, technologically at least. Miles and miles of brand-new highways snake across emptiness, punctuated now and then by a solar-powered telephone on a pole, stark and lonesome between piles of discarded oil cans, and the rusting corpses of cars and trucks driven off the roads by exuberant Arabs who find it more convenient to buy new ones than to fish the wrecked ones out of the dunes.

Between the few big cities with their ever-present building cranes, bulldozers, sprawling boulevards and dozens of Hilton-style hotels with computerized reservation systems and marble bathrooms, are mud-hut villages and gaudily neon-lit gasoline stations whose dirt-cheap prices would make a strong man weep.

Lost somewhere in this bewildering dichotomy of old and new, fact and legend, is the true and highly

Hamra stone symbolizing several religions—including Mesopotamian, Egyptian—bespeaks Taiman tolerance.

Oasis capital of Taima was well protected by wall, seven miles in circumference, that exists to this day.

complex history of the peninsula. It is at last being unraveled by archaeologists. The Saudi Arabian archaeological effort is less than two decades old, but already it has revealed that the Arabia Deserta of legend is not, and never has been, either all desert or all deserted. Lost in the wastes are cities with defense walls and towers, elaborate palaces with murals, and shrines to forgotten gods. There are still-sturdy dams across now-dry streams, and networks of stone-lined cisterns and canals which once served fields of grain, herds of sheep, and the needs of the slowly plodding caravans. There are literally tons of Stone Age tools, and thousands of incised or pecked-out pictures of hunters and their game on the sandstone scarps where once were Pleistocene lakes.

While all around the peninsula intrepid explorers and early archaeologists unlocked the secrets of Mesopotamia, the Indus Valley, Egypt and Israel, Saudi Arabia kept them at bay with restrictive edicts, its formidable desert wastes, its lack of roads and airstrips and water. Not until oil millions began to roll in did Saudi Arabia begin to discover itself.

"We almost missed the caravan [of archaeological exploration]," said a Saudi archaeologist last spring, reclining on his field cot in a desert tent fitted out with layered carpets on the sand. "But we are determined to catch up."

"We are at the most rudimentary stage of putting our archaeological house in order," says Abdullah H. Masry, the U.S.-trained Director of Antiquities and Museums for the kingdom. "We are approaching an enormous area which is unknown to the West—and also unknown to us."

Dr. Masry actually wears two hats, as Assistant Deputy Minister for Cultural Affairs in the Ministry of Education, as well as Director of Antiquities and Museums. The jobs dovetail because the entire mission is education: first to find, then interpret, then instruct. He began the awesome task by dispatching, in February 1975, a preliminary exploration team to visit every site in the kingdom from which antiquities had been reported. The result was a stunning coffee-table book of visible remains photographed, for the most part, without ever moving a shovelful of sand.

The next year he organized and launched a five-year comprehensive survey in which the kingdom was divided into six regions and explored by small, hand-picked teams. The men flew as far as they could, drove as far as they could, then walked. As aids they had the sometimes romanticized accounts of earlier travelers,

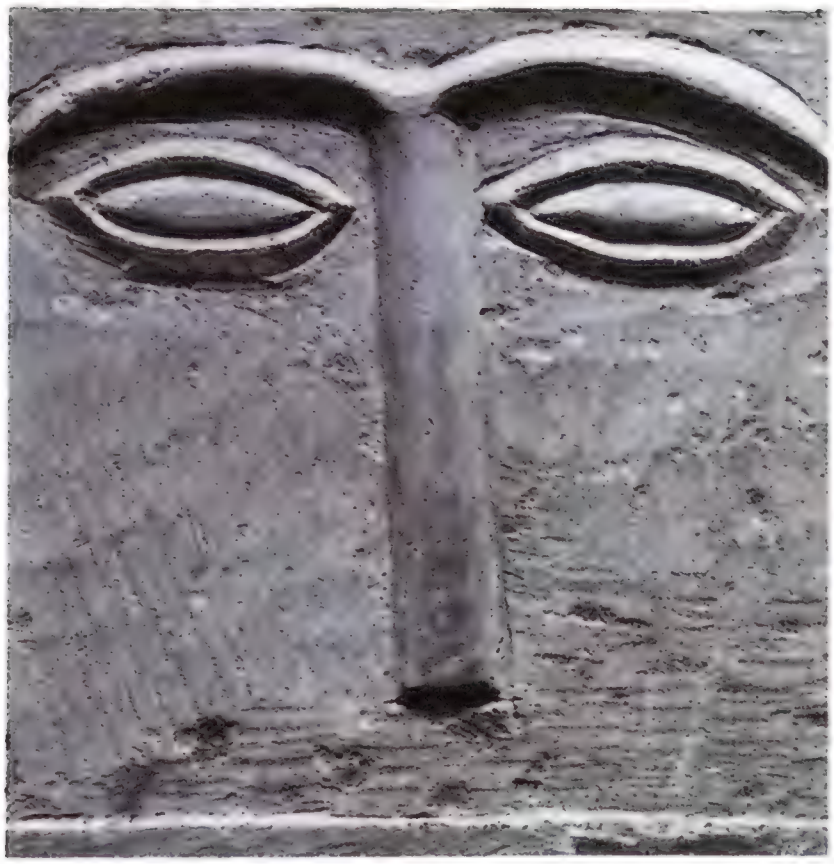
The author, a frequent contributor to SMITHSONIAN *and writer on Mediterranean archaeology, found Arabia "another planet—strange and fascinating."*

Ancient trade routes are in dotted lines, Darb Zubaida in dashes. Some of diverse finds, clockwise from left: Lihyanite Lion Tomb, Dedan; a 2,500-year-old moon sanctuary, Hamra; Hellenistic pot, Thaj, A.D. 300; Neolithic arrowhead, Thamumah, c. 6000 B.C.; lion's head, Najran; cult site near Thamumah, second-first millennium B.C.; incised bull, Hanakiyyan. Hofuf, al Jauf, Najran, Jizan, al'Ula, Taima will have museums.

some notably inaccurate road maps, some U.S. Geological Survey maps, and the patience to interview every Saudi they came across.

During the years of the survey, and in the three seasons since, some broad outlines have formed. Once upon a time, 15, 17, maybe 20 million years ago, the Arabian peninsula was attached to East Africa, and enormous animals—early elephants, giraffes, rhinoceroses—roamed freely from Africa across Arabia as far as Nepal. About 12 million years ago there were now-extinct hominoids called *Dryopithecus*, probably kin to better-known protohuman relatives in East Africa.

After them, beginning a million years ago, were Stone Age hunter-gatherers. Their Olduwan stone tools, hand axes, borers, scrapers, knives and arrowheads are strewn from one end of the peninsula to the other, even in the terrifying expanse known as the Rub' al Khali, the "empty quarter." The depth and richness of the tool deposits at sites like Dawadimi, half a day's drive west of Riyadh, stagger the mind. A lack of remains of permanent structures indicates light, temporary habitation over thousands of years.



Wistful bronze lion's head was cast between second century B.C.-third A.D., perhaps by South Arabians.

Grieving family of a girl named Teshla erected this tombstone to her in Taima in the fifth century B.C.

In Stone Age times the now-dry wadis, or stream beds, must have gushed with water. But then sometime about 15,000 years ago the water began to dry up. As lakes shrank and vanished and streams died in the sand, nomadism became a way of life for much of the peninsula. In contrast, there were people living in reed huts along the Persian Gulf—in Saudi Arabia firmly called the "Arabian Gulf." They left no written record but there is positive proof they were in some kind of commerce with Mesopotamia by 5000 B.C.

Dr. Masry himself, during fieldwork before he became head of the department, found the distinctive painted and incised 'Ubaid pottery, first identified in southern Mesopotamia, scattered across a dozen sites on the mainland and on numerous offshore islands such as Bahrain. And during the 1983 season Dr. Juris Zarins of Southwest Missouri State University, a former University of Chicago classmate of Masry and a veteran of Saudi Arabian archaeology, led a team racing the developers and bulldozers to a vast tomb area near Dhahran, one-half mile from the Arabian Gulf, which yielded everything from early Mesopotamian pottery to Egyptian scarabs. Archaeologists now believe that the fabled and mysterious "Dilmun" of Sumerian legend and the Biblical Eden lay surely somewhere on the eastern edge of the Arabian peninsula and included the island of Bahrain.

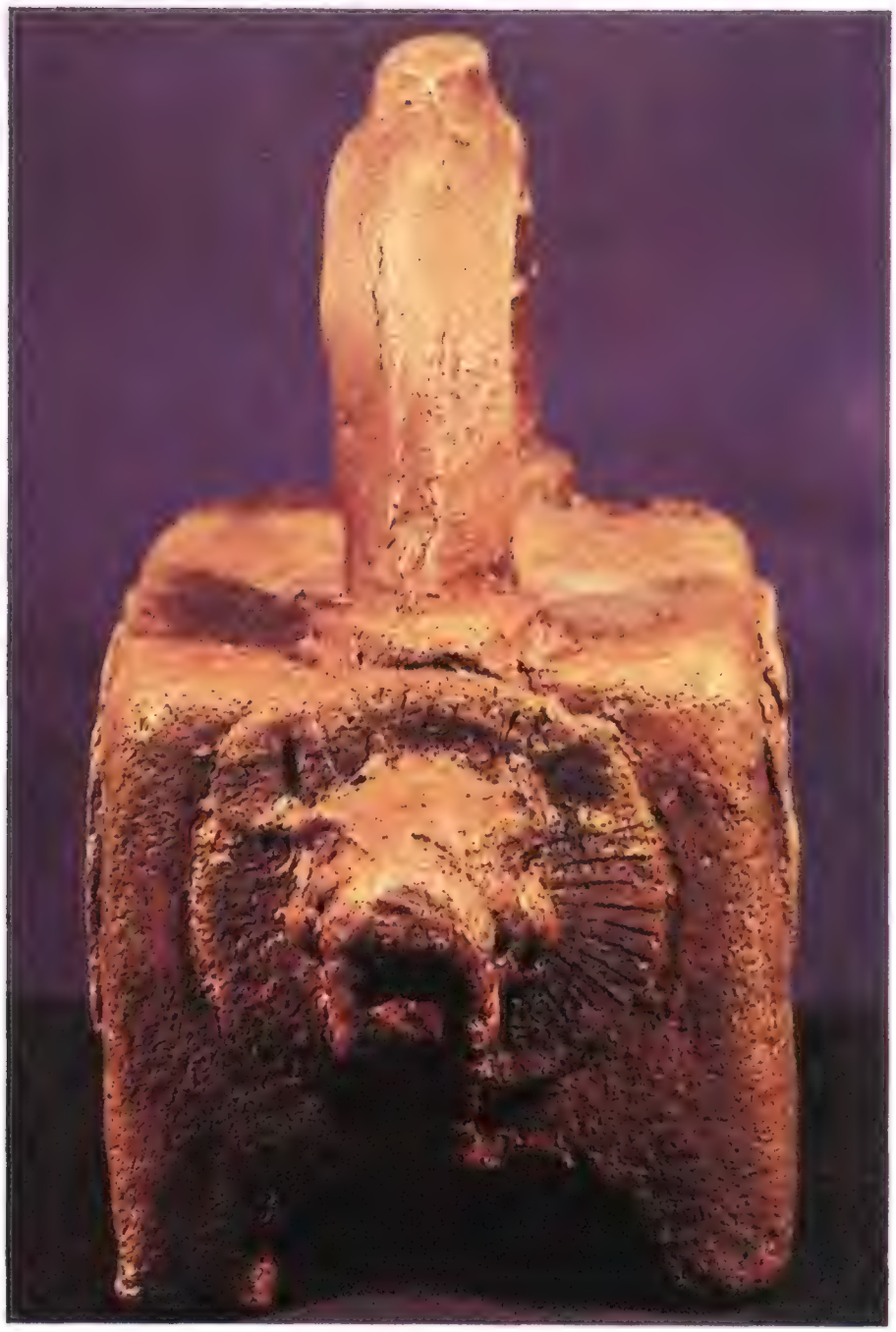
A few millennia later a different culture grew up in central Arabia and the south, the Saba or Sheba of the Bible, in what is now the Yemen. This is the region of Arabia Felix, a rich and well-watered area which produced a distinctive Arabic script about 700 B.C.

In the northwest, nearest to the cities of Phoenicia, the Kingdom of Dedan arose and left behind the mysterious carved Lion Tombs (pp. 42-43) of 2,500 years ago, on a reddish cliff in the midst of an intricately wind-and-water carved landscape. Here was the Midian to which Moses repaired, and where he met the daughter of Shu'ayb (Reuel in the Bible) at the well.

About 2500 B.C. southern peninsular tribes domesticated the camel, with which Arabia has been linked ever since. Assyrian documents of 854 B.C. tell how Gindibú, with 1,000 camel riders from the "Land of the Aribi," aided the King of Damascus against the Assyrian King Shalmaneser III at the battle of Karkor.

Camels are still familiar sights in Saudi Arabia, striding majestically down broad valleys, grazing beside Bedouin encampments or, much more startlingly, riding in rather miffed submission in the rear ends of Datsun and Toyota pickup trucks. Today, some Arabs find it more convenient to drive, camels and all, to the next destination. When the animal was first domesticated, however, it altered the life of the drying, dying peninsula: a beast that could provide milk, meat, housing—woven camel's-hair tents—and transport in and across developing wastes no man could manage.

It was the camel that made the desert caravan possible. Great trade routes had existed for centuries down the river valleys into the Arabian Gulf and the Indian Ocean, from Carthage and Rome and Greece across the Mediterranean to the Levant. But the waters of the Red Sea were extremely dangerous because of offshore islands, reefs and rapacious pirates. So goods coming from the East were off-loaded on the South



Copper balance weight with lion's head indicates al Fau's importance as caravan-route trading center.

Bronze figure of a male camel found in the temple at al Fau bears religious inscription in Musnad.

Arabian coast and transported overland to all the Mediterranean world. The great desert caravans were born and Arabia had a grip on the richest commerce of the time. There were aromatic resins extracted from trees and shrubs which flourished only in South Arabia and nearby Africa and were highly prized in the ancient world as perfumes, for medicinal purposes, as incense for religious ceremony and burial, and for protective fumes against insects and bad odors. There were spices from India to preserve meat or render it less offensive to the taste. There was obsidian from South Arabia and Turkey and lapis lazuli from Afghanistan. And there was gold.

And . . . King Solomon's mines?

In the 1983 season, a mixed team of Colorado mining engineers and Saudi archaeologists spent a difficult month in the deep and mountainous area, remote and inhospitable, now almost on the Yemen border. But for the mineralogists and archaeologists it was worth it all. Each of the ten sites explored yielded tons of slag and remains of smelters, and still-exploitable sources of gold, copper, iron. Further, artifacts attested to the international character of the mining towns: the team found Greek, Byzantine and early Islamic shards. Somewhere around the area, many historians and archaeologists believe, were the fabled mines of King Solomon.

All these treasures found their way up and down many of the same wadis and pathways worn by Stone Age hunters and nomads—one caravan trail up the west coast, another in the east, and a third slanting west-to-east across the upper half of the peninsula. Small cities near oases or spring-fed wadis grew into international centers, rich in goods and culture. One called Taima (or Tayma) in the north was in full flower in the first millennium B.C. when the king of the neo-Babylonian empire, a religious reformer named Nabonidus, moved there from Babylon, made it his seat and built a palace which still lies somewhere beneath the sand. Taima's city walls were seven miles around; its deep 3,000-year-old well still provides water inside its fitted-stone walls. A "Taima stone," inscribed in Aramaic and recording the establishment of a new religious cult in the old city, was found a century ago by a French explorer and is now in the Louvre. But Saudi teams found another stone (p. 45), lying in the ruins of a cult temple , which combines religious symbols from Babylonia, Egypt and Mesopotamia, and testifies to a religious tolerance in Taima which may have attracted Nabonidus in the first place.

True excavation has not yet commenced in Taima, nor in the equally exciting caravan city of Najran in the south, which was a walled and towered city that

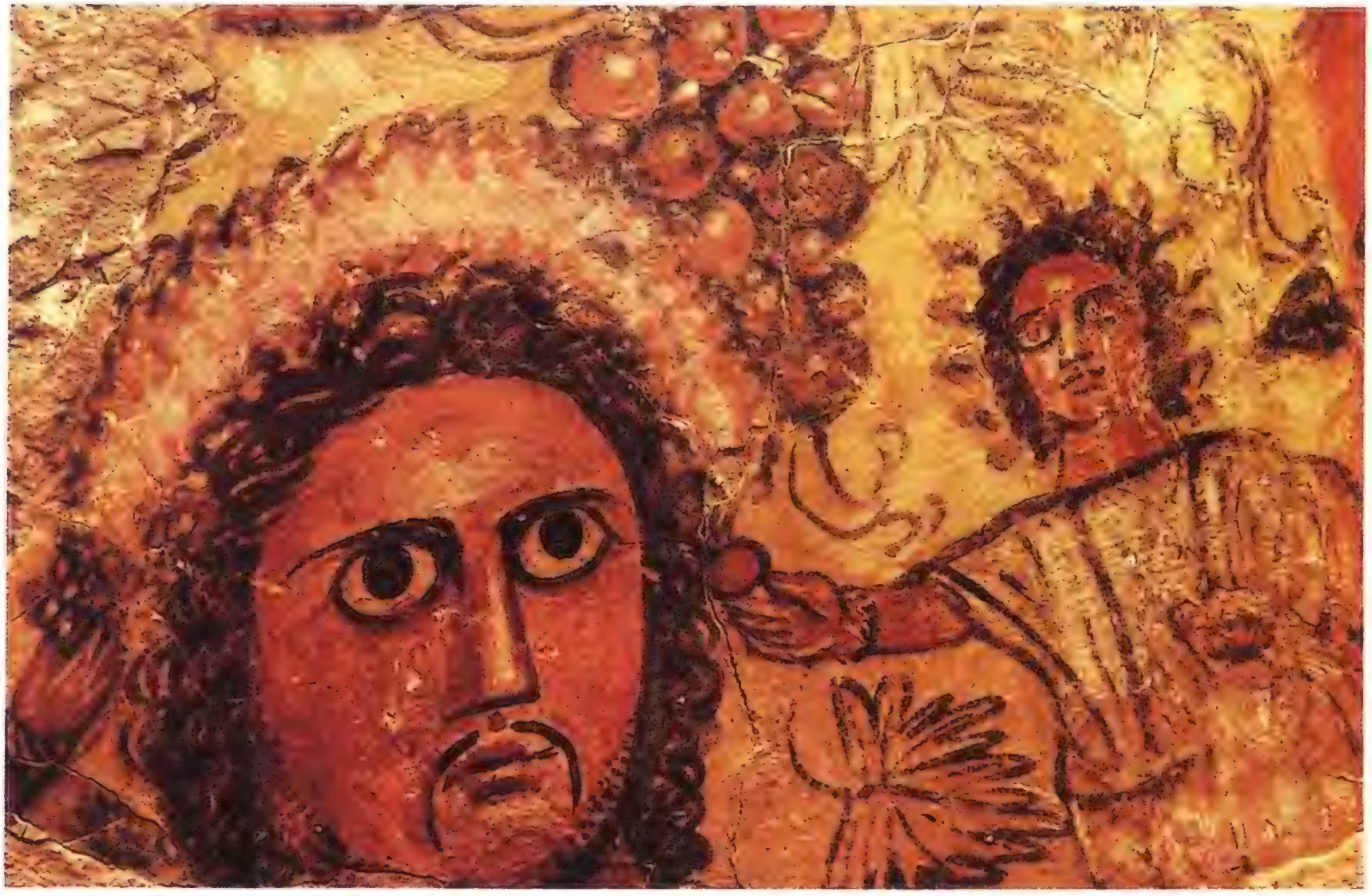
became a first-millennium A.D. Christian center, was attacked by a Jewish king in the sixth century A.D., and was rescued by crusading Christians from Abyssinia.

"We have sort of sat still on true excavation until we can create proper facilities," says Masry. "Right now we are building six site museums: at Taima, Najran, Jizan, Hofuf, al Jauf and al 'Ula. They will be more research centers than old-style museums, though of course we will display what we find. Each will have housing, support and storage facilities for a permanent staff, a library, and visitors' facilities."

All of which is pretty restrained in a country rich enough, and ambitious enough, to bulldoze down every sand dune in sight, if it had a mind to. There is in fact at present only one location in the kingdom which has been quite thoroughly excavated. That one is Qaryat al Fau, 110 miles northeast of Najran and located on the same caravan route. It was mighty in the first millennium B.C. and, though barely mentioned by pre-Islamic and Muslim historians and geographers, it was spotted in the 1940s by Aramco officials. In 1972 a University of Riyadh professor, Dr. Abdul Rahman al Ansary, launched an excavation. A noted epigraphist and British-trained archaeologist, al Ansary had managed to install a small branch of archaeology within the history department, and he began using al Fau as a "teaching dig" for fledgling archaeologists.

If ever a site was calculated to inspire passion in the hearts of young diggers, it was al Fau. In 11 brief seasons of work it yielded an elaborate *suq* or market complex, a sprawling palace with wall paintings, a high roofless temple with bronze statues reflecting the cultures of the Nile valley, the Mediterranean, Syria and South Arabia, a wealth of rich tombs, inscriptions, elaborate waterworks, pottery vessels, locally minted coins. Small wonder the six-year-old archaeology department has become one of the biggest branches of—since 1981—King Saud University.

While the dramatic work at al Fau proceeded, the rest of the archaeological apparatus moved steadily on several fronts. A small but well-organized and well-labeled archaeology museum opened in Riyadh. Six half-hour films were made in Arabic and English to introduce both foreigners and local people to the unfolding archaeological story. Plans have been drawn and money allocated for a far larger museum complex



Only Arabian murals discovered to date are at al Fau. This one, of handmaiden with downcast eyes and diadem-wearing dignitary, perhaps a king, is of late period and testifies to artist's skill with color.

At Mada'in Saleh, wealthy Nabataeans were buried in splendor in tomb long since robbed of valuables.

Inscription above the eagle that has lost its head to vandalism is year dedicated, names of occupants.

with a computerized retrieval system for information on all artifacts and site reports. An annual bilingual publication—*ATLAL, The Journal of Saudi Arabian Archaeology*—launched in 1977, quickly won respect for its meticulous site maps, drawings and photographs of artifacts, and detailed field reports.

The department of antiquities has also moved resolutely to locate, excavate, clean and preserve monuments of the Islamic past, ancient and modern, fearing that in the rush to high technology and the explosion of building the country will lose not only the traces but also the old values, the old ways of Islamic life.

By far the most important early Islamic archaeological complex in the country outside Mecca and Medina is the more than 600-mile-long (in Saudi Arabia only, there is more in Iraq) Darb Zubaida, or pilgrim road, which flourished for centuries between Baghdad and Mecca. As famous in its day as Rome's renowned Appian Way, the Darb Zubaida was even more lavishly equipped with wells, catch basins, rest stops and hostelries for pilgrims. It was named Zubaida in honor of the wife of the Caliph Harun al Rashid, an early ninth-century lady who lavished much of her personal attention and her own and her husband's fortunes on improving the long desert road's facilities and easing the trip for the faithful. Since 1975 the department of antiquities has made restoration of the Darb Zubaida and its remaining structures a special project.

Bull, perhaps Texas Longhorn ancestor, was incised by pastoral tribe at Hanakiyyan several millennia B.C.

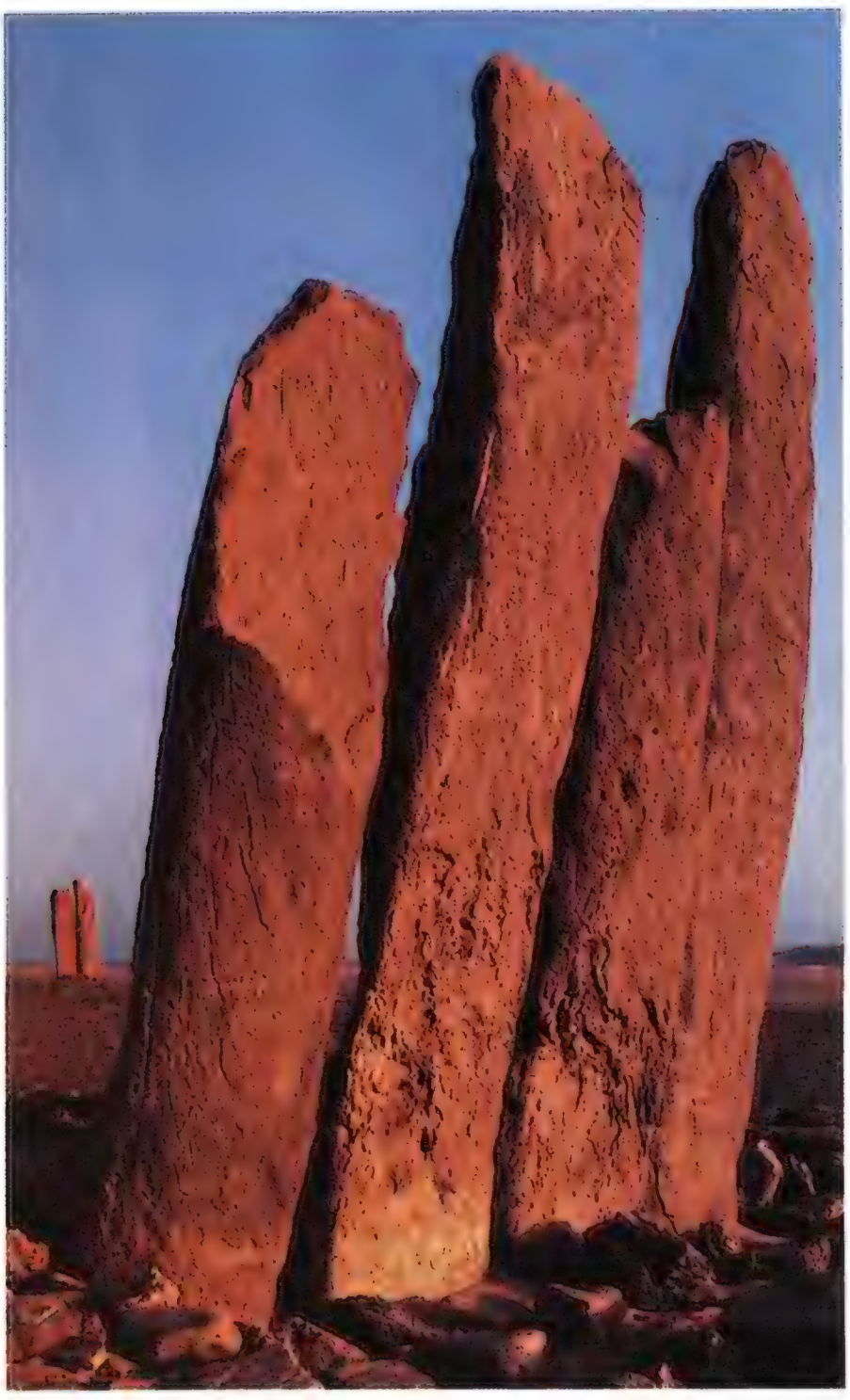
Pilgrims along the caravan trails

It was in fact Islam and its pilgrimage sites and routes that rescued Saudi Arabia from near oblivion in the seventh century A.D. Incessant wars around the periphery and the collapse of once-mighty kingdoms had played havoc with international trade. Christian Rome required far less incense than had pagan Rome, and had further established its own supply lines bypassing the peninsula. Trade languished and died, but as the Prophet Muhammad's sword-wielding, camel- and horse-riding believers swarmed out of the desert to conquer and convert, pilgrims began to trek to the holy sites from Persia, India, Egypt, from conquered Spain, from Turkey. Some of the old caravan routes became paths for the *hajj*, an obligatory pilgrimage, and along them the dying cities blossomed again.

A once-major stop on such a route to Mecca from Egypt and Syria was being surveyed and evaluated in early 1983 just north of Mecca. The typical field team included a Saudi team director, an Iraqi field director and surveyor, and two graduate students from Southwest Missouri State University. Called Jumum from the name of the small Arab village nearby, this old site was abandoned about 200 years ago for a still unknown reason. The 1983 team found an elaborate marble bath buried in sand, the tumbled lower courses of very large buildings, and nearby a *birka* or shallow cistern which is the largest yet found in the kingdom—more than 300 feet across, almost ten feet deep.

Back across the country, due east and a little north of Riyadh, a big 23-man team led by Dr. Mohammed Gazdar, a Saudi, and Dr. Daniel Potts, late of Harvard and now of the Free University of Berlin, tackled this year the ruins of one of ancient Arabia's largest cities. Called Thaj, it lies 50 miles inland from the Arabian Gulf settlements which traded with Mesopotamia in the sixth to the third millennia B.C., but it lay astride the much later, Hellenistic-period (300 B.C. to A.D. 200) routes from India and South Arabia up toward Persia and Assyria. It was a walled city with an elaborate turret system extending far outside its own fortifications. There, Dr. Potts' workmen probed an oddly dark-colored tell which Potts suspects may hide traces of an early smelting operation, or even a mint. Team director Dr. Gazdar meanwhile spent days crouched in a trench lovingly extracting intact Hellenistic pottery from a seemingly endless hoard. Although he says that "we haven't found anything to make people jump from their seats," he is being restrained. They have found exquisite little clay heads of camels and cattle, the worked bases of incense burners, and—lying in the sand waiting, not even needing to be dug out—a seven-inch-high clay figure which may be a mother goddess.

Less than 12 miles from Thaj are low sandstone outcrops in which an earlier team found a treasure of fossil remains of Miocene animals (p. 53). Majeed Khan, a Pakistani who has worked for the department of antiquities the past seven years, still recalls with awe and aching muscles the labor involved in getting the 15- to 17-million-year-old fossils out intact. "For one massive bone we took turns at jackhammers, ten



At Rajajil in the north, clusters of commemorative stones, recalling England's Stonehenge, face the sun.

or fifteen minutes at a time, for two whole days to cut away about ten feet of overlying rock to get close to it. Then it took seven persons three more days to work it out, with little scoops and brushes and even needles, to get it without breaking it."

It was somewhere not far from here, quite likely, that an amateur "rock picker" about ten years ago found a fragment of jawbone and four isolated teeth identified subsequently as that extinct *Dryopithecus* of some 12 million years ago. To the Saudi Arabians' dismay, the *Dryopithecus* remains ended up in the British Museum.

In the most wildly eclectic effort of the 1983 season, a big team worked in the most immediately evocative area of the kingdom, up in the northwest corner toward the Jordanian border. Here they had everything from the Lion Tombs of Dedan to the great facades of Nabataean Mada'in Saleh to the remains of a ruined mud-brick Mamluk fortress and the near-legendary Hejaz railway, built by Germans for Turks and blown up by Lawrence of Arabia in World War I. This one fascinates history and railway buffs, but the true treasures of the area are the tombs of Mada'in Saleh, hauntingly familiar to the West because of their similarity to the famous Nabataean tombs in Petra.

Headquarters for the multinational team (Saudis, Germans, a Filipino, a Jordanian) is the ancient oasis town now called al 'Ula, capital of the Kingdom of Dedan 3,000 years ago. The old city lies in tumbled ruins and the mud-brick heart of al 'Ula, with its twisting brown walls and palm-trunk roof supports, has been abandoned by the populace. The great oasis which sustained town life here for probably 5,000 years still lies green against the reddish sandstone hills, and overlooking the stillness are the jagged walls of a fortress built 1,300 years ago by a Muslim general of the Umayyad period. The department of antiquities has acquired the entire site and means to restore al 'Ula, build steps up to the Lion Tombs, rebuild the Mamluk fort and the railway sheds, and clean and fence the whole area of the Nabataean tombs.

It is all, as Dr. Masry stresses, only the beginning, a race between the development of a new-rich nation and the preservation of its long history. If the archaeologists win—and it seems likely that they will, in general—they will one day have such wealth of archaeological wonders that tourism can replace oil as a national treasure. And all those camels can get back down from all those Japanese pickup trucks and plod off again on camera-carrying caravans.

Stark on the desert floor at as Sarrar, a mammal bone has survived intact for some 15,000 centuries.

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The Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum

American peacemakers by Benjamin West (from left): Jay, Adams, Franklin, Laurens. To Franklin's rear is secretary. Empty space on the canvas was for British negotiator, Richard Oswald, who wouldn't pose.

By Marcus Cunliffe

How Independence was signed, sealed and then delivered

On September 3, 1783, after many years of war and diplomacy, the Thirteen Colonies at last officially became a New World nation

John Adams, describing in his diary not only America's war for independence but the powerful Mother Country's subsequent eagerness to end the fight, compared England to an eagle that has swooped down on a farmyard and in error snatched up not a weak creature, such as a hare, but a cat (America): "In the air the cat seized him by the neck with her teeth and round the body with her fore and hind claws. The eagle finding himself scratched and pressed, bids the cat let go and fall down. 'No,' says the cat, 'I won't let go and fall. You shall stoop and set me down.' "

Adams' vivid image is a parable of the birth of a nation. Within the span of a decade, four events stand out. Three of them are extremely familiar to Americans: the Declaration of Independence (July 4, 1776); the surrender of General Burgoyne's British army at the Battle of Saratoga (October 17, 1777); the further defeat of a British army, when General Cornwallis

acknowledged defeat at Yorktown (October 19, 1781).

The fourth event in a closely related sequence is far less familiar. That was the Treaty concluded in Paris on September 3, 1783. Signed by England and the 13 former American mainland colonies, simultaneously with separate Anglo-French and Anglo-Spanish treaties of peace, it brought to a close a farflung conflict very like a world war. But it also confirmed the boundaries and the very existence of the "United States of America."

Nothing was a foregone conclusion

The exact date of a particular turning point in history can always be disputed. Fighting between the British and the American "rebels" had, for instance, started a year before the Declaration of Independence was issued. In the same way, the American commissioners—Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, John Adams—who signed the Treaty of Paris in September 1783, had agreed, along with Henry Laurens, upon the essential terms with their British counterparts—Richard Oswald and others—as far back as November 30, 1782. They had all been in Europe on diplomatic errands—Franklin ever since 1776. Months of close bargaining preceded the agreement of November 1782.

Even so, the individuals (scholars, politicians, ordinary citizens) and organizations, like the Smithsonian Institution, who are celebrating this September 3 as the 200th anniversary of America's official birthdate are well justified, on historical as well as patriotic grounds. As we shall see, nothing about the war or about the peacemaking was a foregone conclusion. The Anglo-American settlement provisionally reached on November 30, 1782, still had to be approved by George III and his ministers in London, and by the Continental Congress in America. Nor could an Anglo-American agreement become effective until Great Britain formally made peace with the other belligerents. Till then, the Americans could have been forgiven last-minute qualms in view of the tangle of European commitments and contingencies. Thus, Britain was at war with France, Spain and the Netherlands. America was allied to France, Spain was allied to France (Charles III in Madrid and Louis XVI in Versailles were of the same Bourbon dynasty, and linked by the "Family Compact"). But Spain was not allied to the Colonies; and the Dutch were allied to nobody. Each had different war aims and peace aims.

On September 3, 1783, John Adams' metaphorical American cat was at last entitled to purr. Adams, Franklin and Jay had won what Samuel Flagg Bemis, the dean of American diplomatic history, regards as "the greatest victory in the annals of American diplomacy." The American commissioners had secured title

Herbert Art Gallery & Museum, Coventry

Splendidly clad George III was attached to his colonies, once threatened to resign over their loss.

to vast stretches of the continent, west to the Mississippi, south to Spanish Florida, and as far north as the line of lakes and rivers that, near enough, mark the present-day Canadian-American border.

This domain had been variously claimed by Spain, France and Great Britain, often in dispute with one another. The rights of the United States to the American hinterland were, at any rate to European jurists, by no means self-evident. Matters might have gone quite differently. The British might have ended up in possession of what became the Northwest Territory—the region north of the Ohio River comprising roughly the present states of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin. Another chunk south of the Ohio, between the Alleghenies and the Mississippi, might have been assigned to Spain. The French, who had lost Quebec ("New France") to the British only 20 years earlier, might conceivably have reasserted their old claims to the Mississippi valley.

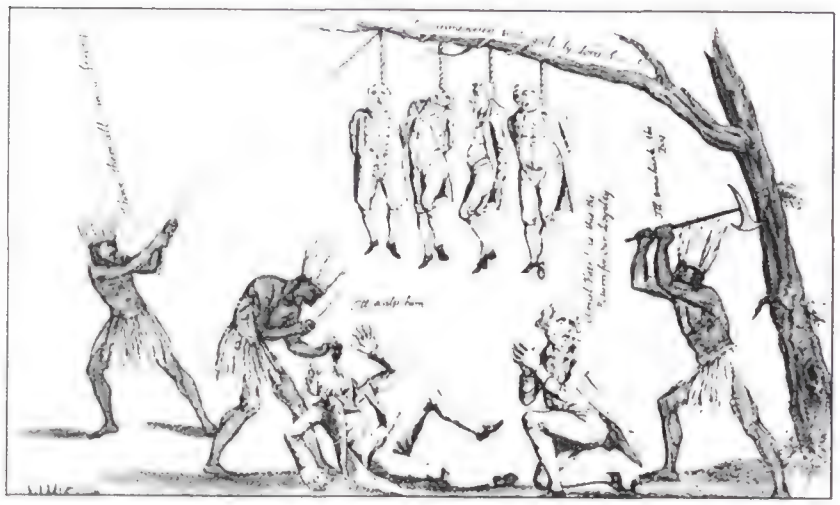
Dear Mama say no more about it.
Be a good Girl and give me a Buss
Begar they will be friends again if you dont pull a little harder
Combin'd
DUTCH
Herring
George for Ever
Pub.d by W. Humphrey, Jr. Ely. Strand.

The ***RECONCILIATION*** *between* ***BRITANIA*** *and her daughter* ***AMERICA,***

1 2 3 4

Pre-treaty cartoon shows wayward America making up with forgiving mother country, as France and Spain try to drag girl away, Holland smokes peacefully, and British statesman warns against French designs.

How did the American peace commissioners who assembled in Paris in 1782 manage to win such substantial recognition from three of the greatest powers in the world? Their apparent handicaps deserve to be emphasized before we turn to the reasons for their success. The Continental Congress that sent them to Europe struck many observers as a loose and fragile confederation, heavily in debt to European creditors and devoid of power to enforce collection of revenue.



In harsher cartoon Americans are savages, torturing or killing the colonists who remained loyal to England.

The Continental navy was minute in comparison with Europe's royal fleets. By 1781 the Continental army, its pay in arrears, was facing threats of mutiny.

European diplomatic practice, moreover, was governed by aristocratic protocol and deviously subtle, relying on a great deal of bribery and espionage. French was the principal language of diplomacy. When they first came to the Continent, none of the Americans was fluent in French. Europeans were apt to treat persons from "their" colonies as provincial nobodies. Aristocratic disapproval of republics induced some Europeans to view the United States as dangerously subversive. In 1780-82 John Jay found his mission as envoy to Spain a humiliating fiasco. Officials snubbed him, since their king did not recognize the United States as an authentic, independent entity.

All four American commissioners had been members of Congress; Jay and Laurens, indeed, had served as presidents of the Continental Congress. But this made them almost too conscious of the feuds and weaknesses of that body. They became increasingly convinced that Congress, including the acting foreign minister, Robert Livingston, was unduly subservient to French requests. They were particularly alarmed by an instruction from home (dated June 15, 1781) that they were to "make the most candid and confidential

communications upon all subjects to the ministers of our generous ally [France] . . . and ultimately to govern yourself by their advice and opinion."

Worse still, the commissioners were suspicious of one another in the earlier stages of their relationship. Franklin, a self-made man, had spent most of his life in Philadelphia or in London. Laurens was a rich merchant from South Carolina. Jay was a refined and well-to-do New Yorker, trained in law, Adams was a lawyer too, by profession, but a Massachusetts "Yankee," a type often disliked in the other colonies.

"Franklin electrified him with his rod"

When Adams and Jay joined Franklin in Paris during 1782—Jay in June and Adams in October—they both initially thought he had fallen too much under the spell of Louis XVI's skillful foreign minister, Charles Gravier, Comte de Vergennes. In Adams' case, his judgments of Franklin were tinged with an intense moralistic jealousy. Years later Adams would expostulate in a letter to Benjamin Rush: "The history of our Revolution will be one continued lie. . . . The essence . . . will be that Dr. Franklin's electrical rod smote the earth and out sprang General Washington. That Franklin electrified him with his rod—and thence forward these two conducted all the policy, negotiations, legislatures, and war."

This quotation reveals that Adams could be envious of almost anybody, not omitting George Washington. It is also a reminder that Franklin was world-renowned—a celebrity whose exploits and sayings, scientific, humorous or philosophical, made him the darling of French society. Installed in Paris since late 1776, he had helped bring the government of Louis XVI from early interest in American resistance, to surreptitious gifts, loans and supplies, and finally, by April 1778, after Saratoga, to open allied involvement with the colonies in the war against England.

When Adams first came to Europe in 1778, he was obsessed by Franklin's glamor. In social gatherings (Adams confessed to his diary), wily old Ben "has the most affectionate and insinuating Way of charming the Woman or the Man that he fixes on. It is the most silly . . . way imaginable," he complained, "in the sight of an American, but it succeeds . . . fullsome and sickish as it is, in Europe." Adams deplored the bawdy conduct of the French. He was shocked that Franklin seemed attuned to it. Franklin, he thought, had grown lazy and corrupt—for example, in wangling the appointment of his grandson, William Franklin, to the secretaryship of the American peace commission.

The circumstances for the American negotiators thus looked distinctly unpromising. They seemed an ill-assorted group with limited powers and ambiguous

Musée National du Chateau de Versailles

America's ally, Comte de Vergennes, helped win liberty for colonies but wanted them dependent on France.

Marquess of Lansdowne

British Chief Minister, Lord Shelburne, offered generous and farsighted terms to the former rebels.

The New-York Historical Society

Historic Mitchell map shows, outlined in red, the nearly final boundaries of the new nation. The Colonies acquired all the land west of the Mississippi, and south to the Spanish-held Florida territories. From the St. Croix River in Maine, the Canadian border

instructions. In fact, of course, they functioned extremely well. One reason is that they were in their respective fashions extraordinarily able men. Jay, a future Chief Justice of the United States, was incisive and tenacious, and his dealings with French and Spanish officialdom had sharpened his pride in America. The prickly John Adams, the first Vice President and second President of the United States, was also a redoubtable controversialist, deeply versed in statute law in the decade of argument over Britain's Stamp Act, and other grievances that had led up to the Declaration of Independence. He and Franklin had helped with the Declaration of Independence. Both helped draft America's first, shrewd foreign-policy guidelines.

As for Franklin, he was certainly on affable terms with Vergennes. Nevertheless, he readily agreed with Jay and Adams, when the trio began to meet regularly in the autumn of 1782, that they must ignore Congress, dealing directly with the British and not taking orders from Vergennes.

And it was soon clear that Franklin had laid the groundwork with the British negotiators, in his artfully artless fashion. He had suggested to Richard Oswald, as a basis for discussion, four "necessary" American demands and certain other "advisable" ones. The "necessary" preconditions were: the withdrawal of British troops and the granting of complete independence; a satisfactory settlement of frontiers; the limiting of the Canadian border at least to what it had been before the Quebec Act of 1774; and freedom to fish "on the Bank of Newfoundland and elsewhere, as well for fish as whales." Among Franklin's "advisable" suggestions was that the British turn over the whole of Upper and Lower Canada to the Americans.

These proved to be tough conditions, when it became clear how much territory the Americans had in mind, and how vehemently Adams in particular, pleading on behalf of his New England constituency, insisted on a broad interpretation of fishing rights. Adams argued for the same privileges that Americans had enjoyed within the British Empire. These included the rights to fish inshore as well as in the deep waters of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. He harangued the negotiators for three days on the topic. "We have a saying at Boston," he explained, "that when the blossoms fall, the Haddock begin to crawl."

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looped up and around to the top of the Connecticut River, then west, starting on the 45th parallel, to the headwaters of the Mississippi. On the north, though, it was agreed to follow the natural frontier, along the St. Lawrence and through the Great Lakes.

In other words, in early summer the shoals of fish would head out to Newfoundland's Grand Banks.

Cod and other fish were essential to the New England economy. And "the Fishery" was not only a source of profit but a nursery to train fighting seamen. Were the British, he asked, foolish enough to allow the French, also closely involved in the North American fisheries, to monopolize this naval training ground?

Adams' query illustrates how skillfully the American commissioners, individually and collectively, responded to the bargaining realities of diplomacy. All of them realized that Vergennes basically sought to be revenged on Britain for losses suffered in the French and Indian War. It was in France's interest to exploit the American drive for independence, maintaining the former colonies as a client state. Spain, also anxious to be revenged on the British, was preoccupied with the recovery of lost possessions, especially the fortress of Gibraltar, seized by England in 1704. Because of their extensive colonies in the American hemisphere, the Spanish were more reluctant than the French to aid the United States in securing independence. The Dutch were mainly important to the Americans as a source of moral and financial support.

British decide to cut their losses

The British themselves, as the Americans quickly grasped, were determined at the outset to suppress a rebellion. But as the war grew into a global struggle, influential voices in London began to urge that the war could not be won in America. Common sense therefore dictated to the British, with overwhelming weight after the Yorktown disaster, that they cut their losses in North America and try by military and naval prowess to achieve dominance over European foes.

Astutely, the American commissioners played off the respective fears of France and Great Britain. Vergennes did not want the American cause to collapse. Nor did he wish the colonists to return to their British allegiance. He had felt obliged to provide the loans and eventual outright alliance Franklin sought. The British wanted to keep the Americans from forming commercial and strategic ties with France.

Such considerations were naturally dependent upon the fortunes of the war. Saratoga clinched the French alliance. Yorktown persuaded George III's chief minister, Lord North, that the "rebels" could not now be routed. The king reluctantly heeded the outcry in Parliament, though at one point he thought of abdicating over the loss of the colonies. By the summer of 1782 events were moving fast. One administration after North's, that of Viscount Rockingham, had come and gone with Rockingham's sudden death. Rockingham's successor, the Earl of Shelburne, was organizing peace proposals. His first notion, in line with persistent British hopes, was that somehow the Americans would accept a partial independence, perhaps in the form of a federation. But Shelburne was a politician of unusual foresight and detachment.

A reading of Adam Smith, and other advanced economists, had converted him to the proposition that old-style mercantile empires (with the colonies in thrall, both as markets and producers of raw materials) would be irrelevant to the new age of international trade. Natural economic preferences were what mattered. North America, he believed, could still be brought within the British trading orbit, provided the

The Art Museum, Princeton University

American flag was depicted by Copley as detail in portrait he did after the agreement was signed.

two sides were mature enough to reach a grudge-free consensus in their peace treaty.

He saw Britain providing capital and goods for settlers pouring westward toward the Mississippi. Consequently he was disposed to accept the Mississippi as a western border, and all the Northwest Territory, and to negotiate with Franklin and Jay as commissioners not of the Colonies but of the "13 U.S.," an ingenious yet slightly enigmatic designation interpreted as virtual commitment to independence by Britain.

Shelburne's plan, as historian J. Steven Watson has noted, was "far reaching, imaginative—and misunderstood." Resistance to his generosity soon arose in London and a second negotiator, Henry Strachey, was sent over in late October to stiffen Oswald's position, just at the time when John Adams reached Paris from Holland. But by November 1, 1782, the trio were amazingly close to striking a deal with their British enemies, more or less secretly from France. Once the basic agreement had been made, the work went swiftly, though threats and wrangling sometimes grew heated and exasperating. The basic threat the British used was that if the Americans didn't agree, the whole package would have to be presented, piecemeal and unsigned, to Parliament, which was known to be far less generous than Shelburne. The Americans could, and did, threaten to withdraw from bargaining and cast their lot irrevocably with France.

Also thanks to Shelburne's policy, the boundary disputes were not as difficult as they might have been. Franklin had once tried to obtain Canada. There had even been a time, too, when England seemed ready to yield to the Americans all the land up to a line across what is now the middle of Ontario. But in practice, common sense prevailed. On the Atlantic coast the British gave up the Penobscot River as the start of a new Canadian border (though they had put a fort at Castine, Maine, on purpose to guard it). The compromise line started on the St. Croix, plunged north, then down the old border to the head of the Connecticut River and west, on the 45th parallel.

A westward continuation of that line would have placed the Canadian border now on one side, now on the other of a natural water frontier. To avoid future trouble, at the St. Lawrence River they ran the border "along the middle of said water" and so on through the string of Great Lakes, as it is today, launching it westward, finally, from Lake Superior toward Lake of the Woods, now in Minnesota, and on to the headwaters of the Mississippi. (The Commissioners' map was inadequate and nobody was exactly sure just where those headwaters were.)

The western limit ran down the middle of the Mississippi, to the 31st parallel, which was the northern edge of Spanish holdings in West Florida and Florida (which the United States did not acquire finally until 1819). Spain held the mouth of the great river, but all nations got navigation rights to it.

"No notion of Cheating anybody"

In return the British demanded that the new nation guarantee legitimate private and public debts contracted before 1775, and insisted that reparations be paid to the thousands of Loyalists whose lands and goods had been seized during the war. On the first matter, after some demur, the Americans agreed, Adams, self-righteous as ever, asserting "we have no notion of Cheating anybody." But repaying the hated Loyalists was more than the commissioners could bring themselves to do. Adroitly they reiterated that the property had been seized by individual, semi-autonomous states. The Continental Congress, which had no effective power to tax, also had no authority to force restitution. The British kept pressing, until finally Franklin noted that if individual Loyalists *were*

to be recompensed for war damage done them, it would only be fair for the British to recompense individual patriots for the damage done *them* by Loyalists and Indians who had collaborated with the British Army in North America. He drew from his pocket a long list. The British, seeing themselves once more confounded by Yankee bookkeeping, figuratively groaned. Eventually they recompensed, and relocated, the Loyalists themselves. The final text said that the government should "earnestly recommend" that individual states make restitution to Loyalists.

In London the agreement met with noisy criticism. In February 1783, the Parliament rewarded Shelburne by turning out his government. But so eager was everyone to have the matter over and done, that they passed his treaty anyway. In Paris the American peace commissioners were uneasy about what the Congress would say about those totally disobeyed instructions. But not too worried. As Laurens put it, "I cannot think our country will hang their ministers merely for their simplicity in being cheated into independence, the fisheries, and half the Great Lakes."

So it proved. The Congress did reprimand the peace commissioners, but on April 15, 1783, ratified their preliminary agreement. There was no peace, though, officially until September 3, when the terms worked out with the British were agreed upon, without a single change, in the Treaty of Paris. There came a moment when John Adams, with pleasure, heard himself praised as "*le Washington de la Négotiation*," and with magnanimity pointed out that the honor really belonged to John Jay—thus slighting "Benjamin the Franklified."

Soon thereafter a lighter-than-air madness took hold of Paris. Crowds, including Franklin, gathered to see the newfangled balloons rising skyward like the hopes of the young republic. It was a time of congratulatory toasts and parties, not the least of them a ball given by Jay's dashing young wife, Sally. Because there were 13 states, Mrs. Jay proposed 13 toasts—among others, to the Congress, the French king, the patriots fallen for their country. Their tone was exultant, full of hope for the future. The last one was simply: "Liberty and happiness to all mankind."

A lighter-than-air madness, including this balloon ascent over Versailles, seized Parisians in autumn of 1783, turning peoples' minds away from long war just ended, toward peace and a hopeful future.

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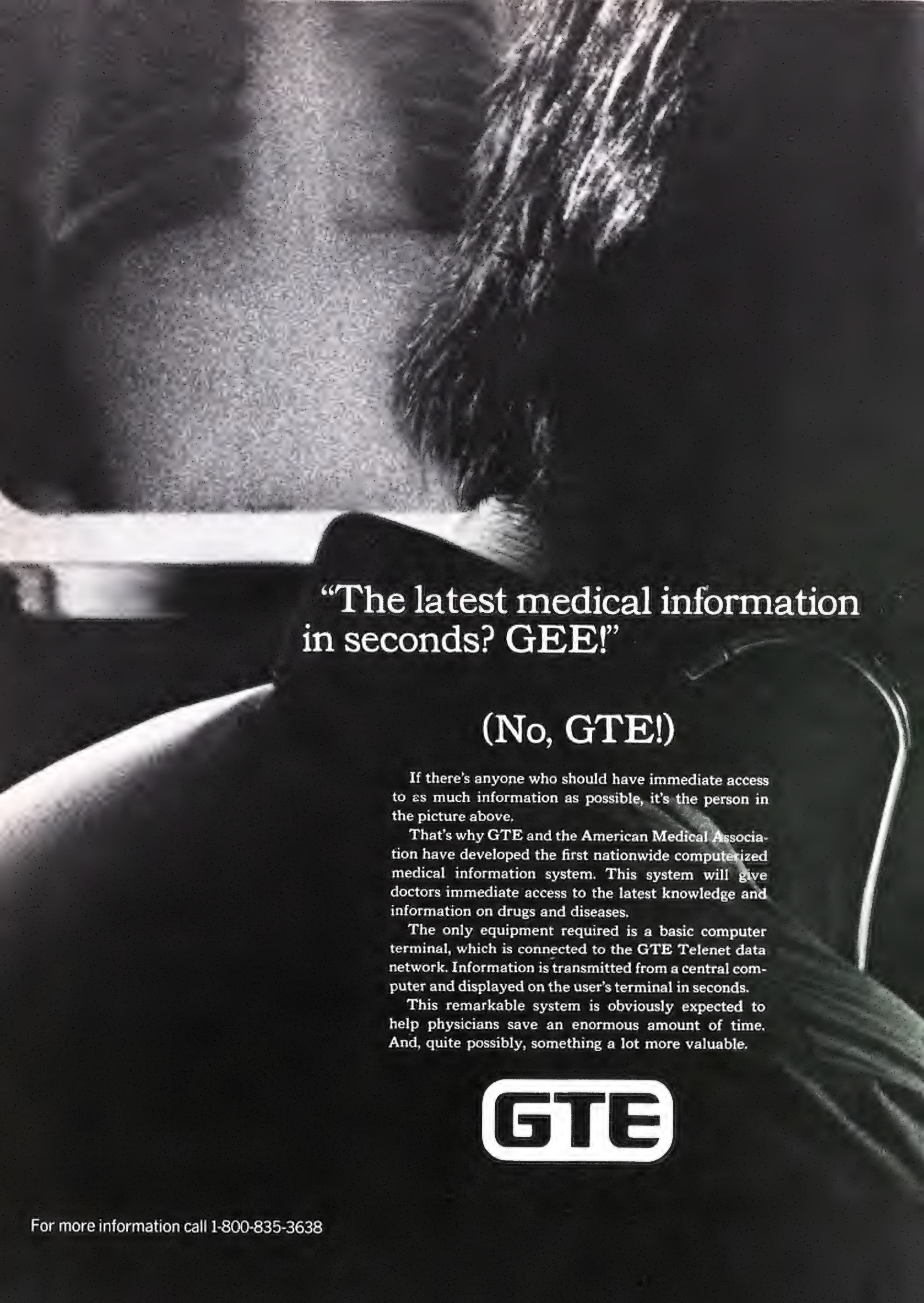
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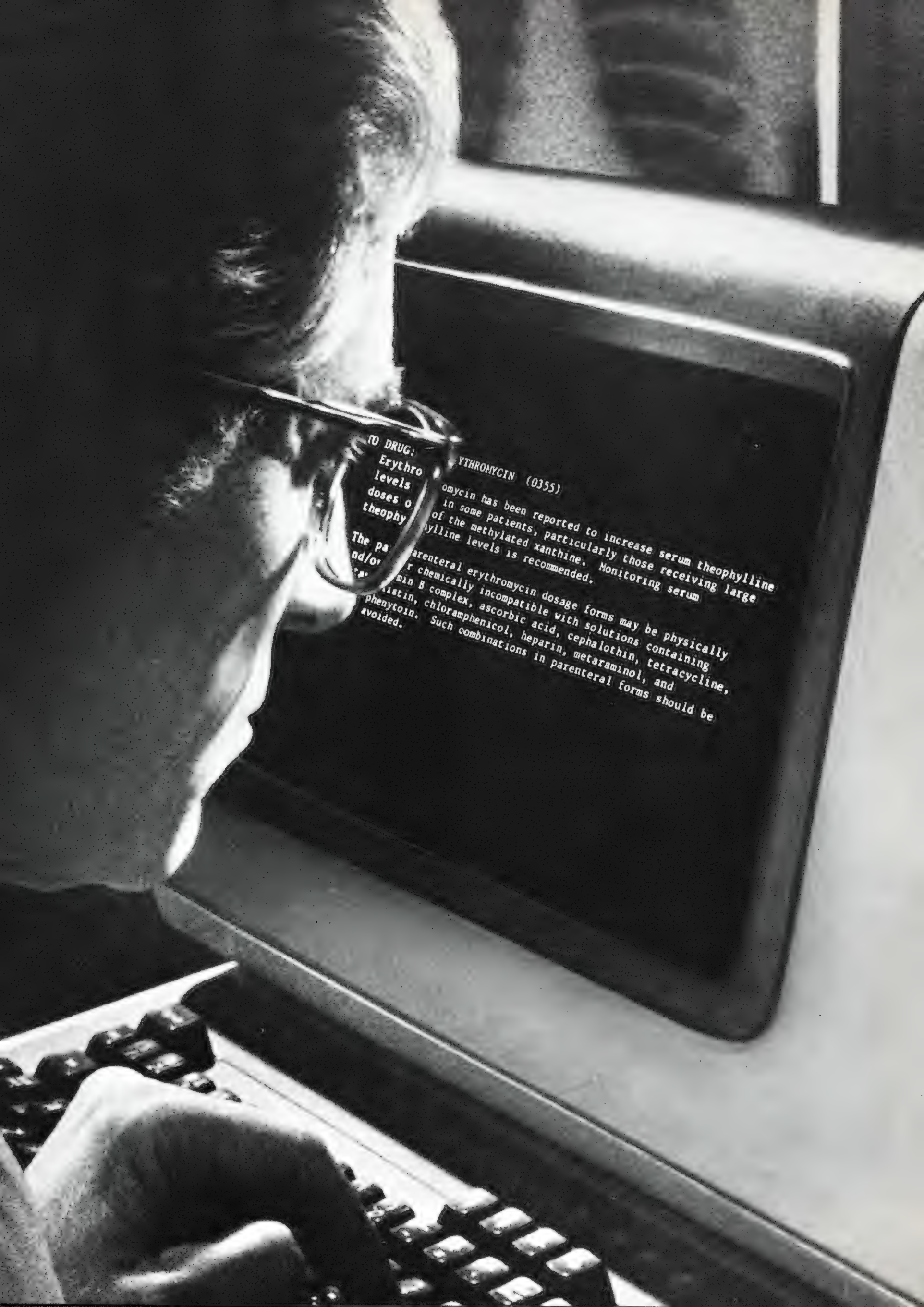
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avoided.

Dwarfed by the dome of Gomantong cave in Borneo, a collector (center) climbs toward swiftlets' nests.

By Roy Andries de Groot

On the trail of bird's nest soup: caves, climbs and high stakes

The trade behind this delicacy involves both risk and money; Asian epicures—and gourmets everywhere—think it's worth it

Photographs by Michael Freeman

Text begins on page 68

On the trail of bird's nest soup

Within the caves near Phangnga Bay in Thailand are found some of the purest white nests in the world.

They are plucked from high on the walls of enormous caves by men who risk instant death while climbing about on bamboo and rattan ladders. They are protected by armed guards and, in some areas, barbed wire is used to defend them against theft. From remote islands in the South China Sea and the Indian Ocean they are distributed, in an atmosphere of secrecy like that of the drug trade, by operatives who sometimes have high connections and invariably make equally high profits.

They are not precious gems or priceless antiquities. They are birds' nests.

Small, snow-white, shaped like a half-teacup, the bird's nest is so revered in Chinese gastronomy—as an aphrodisiac, delicious delicacy, magical booster of health and purifying sacrament—that in some parts of the world it is virtually worth its weight in gold.

My desire to learn about the nests began in a small Chinese restaurant in Hong Kong while I was eating an extraordinary soup. I was the guest of my friend Fen Dow Chan in a back street of Kowloon, so far from the tourist avenues that the restaurant's name was posted in Chinese ideographs only.

The dining room was extremely comfortable and beautifully decorated. There were figures and fittings of ivory and jade. There was the softness of satins, silks and tapestries. There was no written menu, but the dish that Fen Dow ordered was immediately translated for me as "Nests of Sea Swallows with Venomous Snake and Chrysanthemum Petals with Lemon Grass and Lotus Seeds in Soup."

After we had sipped some "Iron Buddha" tea and nibbled on small slivers of preserved goose, the waiter brought in a large tureen and set it on the side table. At this moment, a strange figure entered the room, half-shuffling, half-skating toward us in his black-velvet slippers. It was an ancient, bearded Chinese gentleman wearing a long, loose scarlet robe. Hanging by a red-silk cord from his left wrist was a brown-leather bag ornamented with silver-dragon designs, with something, obviously, moving inside. As he reached the tureen, the head of a live snake rose from the bag, its forked tongue darting. With a quick motion, the old man grasped the snake behind the head and, deftly squeezing, appeared to spritz into the soup just a drop or two of the venom.

There could be no question as to the extraordinary excellence of this soup. Its brilliant balance of tastes and textures—its combination of pure simplicity and a rainbow of complicated sensuous flavors—made it the single greatest Chinese dish I have ever tasted. Tiny slivers of snake meat had been shredded into the soup, but the dominant ingredient was the translucent, spaghettilike, gelatinous and glutinous birds' nests. They gave a sense of luxurious richness to the soup. Cutting through the velvety flavor was the citrus tang of chrysanthemum petals and lemon grass.

Mr. de Groot has written about food and wine for 30 years. His book on the cuisine of the French Alps, The Auberge of the Flowering Hearth, *was just reissued.*

For centuries it was believed they were built by swiftlets that fed on the windblown foam of the sea.

White-nest swiftlets at Gomantong cling to the cave wall beside nests built near top of 450-foot-high shaft.

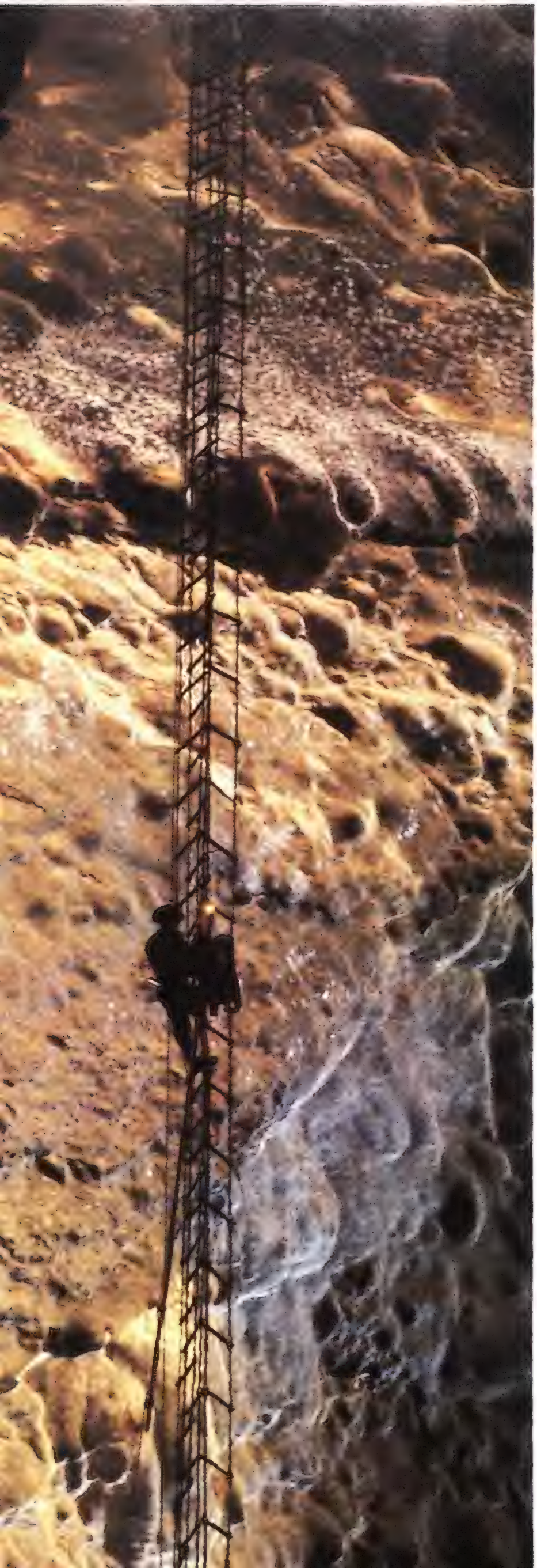
While we consumed the soup, Fen Dow talked incessantly, unburdening his soul, which, this Sunday morning, was deeply troubled. I had promised to pick him up at his apartment and take him to lunch. But when I got there, I found him still in bed and in terrible shape. On Saturday night he had been "out with the bad boys," and everything had gone desperately wrong. They had drunk too much 110-proof Mao Tai. As the night deepened, so did their troubles. They went to "puff a pipe or two" in one of the clandestine opium houses. This morning his body felt like lead and his spirits were as black as the deepest coal mine. I offered at once to take him to his doctor. "No," Fen Dow said. "More than anything, I must have some bird's nest soup. Help me get dressed and then we'll go to my favorite place."

In the restaurant, after his third large bowl, Fen Dow was visibly recovering. He made clear to me the almost magical esteem in which the Chinese hold the nests of the "sea swallow." It was not just a matter of hunger or nutrition. He was convinced that the soup would restore balance and strength to his body and mind and give him long life, virility and wisdom.

In reality, the white nests are not built by "swallows" but by one particular small bird belonging to the family of swifts. Because of its comparatively small size the bird is known as a swiftlet, more specifically as the edible-nest or white-nest swiftlet. It builds its nests primarily in sea caves, although some swiftlets nest in inland areas far from the coast. It feeds by swooping through the air, catching flying insects.

When the male is ready to start building the nest, he picks a high, safe place, and out of his mouth comes a secretion from his now swollen salivary glands. This "paste" or nest-cement, as it is called, emerges from his mouth in a continuous thin strand of soft "spaghetti." He weaves it, swinging his small head this way and that, into a nest shaped like a shallow half-cup. As the nest dries, all of the strands stick solidly together and the entire nest is "glued" firmly to the rock wall. In this little haven, the female lays her eggs and rears her young for about two months.

As Fen Dow took each mouthful, he meditated on the tremendous struggles of this tiny bird against the forces of ocean storms and monsoon winds. For centuries the Chinese believed that to create the nest the swiftlet absorbed nothing more than the windblown foam from the sea. Fen Dow believed that he was ab-



sorbing with the soup the iodine of seaweed, the phosphorescence that lights up the southern seas at night, mineral salts and other mysterious natural elements. He consumed them as a concentrated essence of the devotion, endurance, power, strength and virility of this extraordinary bird. It was at this point that the idea came to me of dropping all my other plans to devote myself to an exploration of the white-nest swiftlet and the worldwide trade in its nests.

I began looking for birds' nests in the restaurants of Hong Kong. On Paterson Street in the Causeway Bay district of Hong Kong Island, I found a restaurant, the Siam Bird's Nest, which served them in about 40 different ways. Common bird's-nest recipes include a salty soup as a separate course before the main meal, dumplings and a sweet dessert soup garnished with fruit (pp. 74, 75). At the restaurant one could also buy beautifully packed boxes of whole birds' nests. The price fluctuates according to the economy, the year's harvest and the quality of the nests. At that time, the price for top-quality nests in U.S. dollars came to about $4,000 per pound. The most valuable nests are the "white" ones, especially those collected before the female lays her eggs. Another species, the black-nest swiftlet, provides nests that contain their own black feathers and are edible only after thorough cleaning, but these are far less expensive.

I started talking with the owner of the restaurant, Wong Tze-ming, inquiring why he continued to use the name "Siam" for his restaurant when the name of the country had been changed more than 40 years ago to Thailand. He replied that his family had had a contract, for more than 100 years, directly with the kings of Siam (those same kings who were the subjects of *Anna and the King of Siam* and *The King and I*) for the rights to the harvesting of birds' nests in some of the great caves on the Thai coast. Since the contract with the Royal Family was in the name of Siam, he did not feel that he should change it.

It was most probably the Chinese who recognized the edibility of the nests of the white-nest swiftlet. Although a firm date or instance has not been documented, one particular account tells of a Chinese man named Hao Yieng, who had settled in Siam about 1750. He apparently soon discovered that the sea swiftlets built their nests and bred in several caves of the offshore islands and that the nests were of an immaculate white material soluble in hot water. The little bird was thought to be so pure that it derived all its nourishment from the air and from sea spray. Its

At Gomantong a collector ascends rattan ladder toward the nests built high on the walls of the cave.

name, in the local language, was "wind-eating bird." It was said never to have been seen taking any form of solid food.

Perhaps it was to be expected that a performance so ethereal should attract such dauntless gastronomic perfectionists as the Chinese. Hao Yieng must have seen the value of such a commodity, for in 1770 he went to visit the King of Siam with a proposal. He presented all his possessions including his wife, his children and his slaves, along with 50 cases of tobacco, in return for the rights to collect all the birds' nests in all the caves on two islands. The King agreed. Within a few years, Hao Yieng had a virtual monopoly on the bird's-nest trade and had become immensely rich. Later realizing the great value of these edible nests, the Siamese Crown took over and Hao Yieng released his monopoly. A "corps of hereditary collectors" was created and it was perhaps through this administrative machinery that, eventually, the contract was signed with the Wong family at the Siam Bird's Nest restaurant in Hong Kong.

I then decided to go to Bangkok, where some of the finest nests are found in the huge caves near the Bay of Phangnga. I wanted to know what happened to these excellent nests and learned that a major company now manages the collection and distribution, with most of the nests going on to Hong Kong to be sold. I asked an official if I could acquire a few of the top-quality white nests for my personal use and was given a wooden box, about the size of a standard shoe box, filled with nests in perfect condition. We weighed them on a laboratory scale and they came to a shade better than two pounds. I could have these at the wholesale price—"a little below what we charge Hong Kong"—for $2,000 in U.S. currency, cash. The nests are so light that you get about 50 to each pound. It takes about six nests, plus quite a few other ingredients, to prepare a tureen of soup for four people.

The search for the ultimate recipe

In search of the ultimate recipe for my newly acquired investment of bird's-nest liquid capital, I consulted a number of the top cooks of Bangkok. Though Thailand produces some of the best birds' nests in the world, it has never accepted the dish as a great specialty and has never incorporated any form of cooked bird's nest into Thai cuisine. However, the King and Queen of Thailand have a superb sense of diplomacy and hospitality. When Queen Elizabeth II paid a state visit, the kitchens of the Royal Palace in Bangkok did not hesitate to prepare roast beef and Yorkshire pudding. Just in case there should be a visit from a high Chinese diplomat, there does exist, in the royal kitchen files, a magnificent recipe for bird's nest soup

Perilously climbing a cave wall, collector locates the nests with a lighted candle on long bamboo pole.

A steady hand is an asset while using this metal device to gently grasp and remove the fragile nest.

In Thailand workers thoroughly clean any feathers and soil from the birds' nests before they are sold.

Edible nests, varying in both color and quality, are displayed in this bird's-nest shop in Hong Kong.

prepared with the purest, whitest Thai nests. Two outstanding cooks in Bangkok, both consultants to the kitchens at the Palace, one of whom is Chinese, have given me the opportunity to taste what is alleged to be the unofficial royal recipe (opposite).

I have since made this soup in my own kitchen in New York and it has worked extremely well for me—both with the top-grade nests I brought back from Bangkok and with less expensive nests I have bought in Chinese-American food shops. The prices mentioned may have given the impression that birds' nests can be afforded only by the very rich. The top prices are paid only for the very limited quantities of absolutely perfect nests; other grades (including packages of broken bits or "dragon's teeth") are sold at relatively affordable prices.

After my experience in Bangkok I realized that great numbers of nests must flow into the Hong Kong market. They come not only from the coast of Thailand, but also from Malaysia, Indonesia, the Philippines and Vietnam.

It seemed that most of these shipments were shrouded in secrecy. It was hinted that one man was the "world kingpin" of the international traffic in edible nests. He was said to have contracts with governments, kings and princes, and private owners of islands, and to have a great deal of money to throw around. He was said to control his invisible empire from a minuscule office in Kowloon in Hong Kong. Whether this is just one man or a group of so-called brokers is debatable. Eventually—with the help of friends—I did get to talk briefly to such a man, on condition that I did not publish the address of his office and that I simply call him "Mr. Fred."

His office was in a narrow, nondescript back street, at the front of an entirely inconspicuous small building. The main door was steel-plated and opened only by advance appointment. Both the waiting room and the inner office were filled with a chaotic jumble of samples of items for sale. Instantly recognizable were bolts of silk and carved pieces of ivory and jade. There were also some rolls of barbed wire.

Mr. Fred was a small, round Chinese gentleman of indefinite age, educated in Europe and with a near-perfect command of English. He was impeccably well dressed and positively exploding with energy, opinions and a torrent of talk. I asked, "Why so much secrecy surrounding the trade in birds' nests?" His smile was almost fatherly, the tone of his voice ever so slightly condescending as he answered: "For the same reason that there is secrecy about shipments of gold bars. Gold is now worth about $400 per ounce. The very best grades of birds' nests are getting close to $300 an ounce. Every time we move a shipment from one warehouse to another, or from a packing room to the airport, we face the danger of hijacking."

I asked about the barbed wire. "If you were the owner of an island," he said, "let us say a remote island

THE UNOFFICIAL ROYAL RECIPE OF THAILAND FOR BIRD'S NEST SOUP

6 whole nests, or 1½ ounces of "dragon's teeth"
8¾ cups clear chicken bouillon, or stock
½ cup diced raw chicken breast meat
⅓ cup small slivers of same chicken
¾ cup chunks of same chicken
½ cup diced lean country-smoked cooked ham
⅓ cup small slivers of same ham
½ cup diced lean raw pork
¾ cup bean sprouts, washed, topped and tailed
8 quail eggs
2 egg whites (chicken, that is!), fairly stiffly beaten
1 cup finely chopped watercress leaves, no stalks
Coarse crystal sea salt
Freshly milled Chinese Sichuan pepper

Put nests into bowl and pour boiling water over them, just to cover. Leave them to soften for 1 hour. Measure ¾ cup of chicken bouillon and chill, covered, in coldest part of refrigerator.

At the end of the hour, using fine-mesh sieve, clean and wash nests by holding them under gently running cold water. Wipe out bowl and put back nests. Cover with cold water and soak for another 2 hours.

Meanwhile, begin gently heating remaining 8 cups of chicken bouillon to light simmer and stir in ½ cup each of the diced chicken, ham and pork. Let them all simmer together very gently, covered, for 2 hours.

When the timer rings, strain diced meats from chicken stock and discard them. Now drain nests and add them to stock in saucepan and continue gentle simmering, tightly lidded, for another 2½ hours. During this time the nests will partially melt and give a rich, glutinous body to the soup.

Then, quickly blanch the bean sprouts by plunging them, for no more than a few seconds, into boiling water. At once, run them under cold water to prevent softening, drain, dry and put them aside. Next, soft-boil the 8 quail eggs until yolks are just set by putting them into cold water, heating it to a gentle boil, simmering for 3-4 minutes, then at once plunging them into cold water. Shell and hold them for garnishing. Next, put ¾ cup of chicken chunks into the work bowl of a food processor and puree to smooth velvet, with the steel blade. Then add the ¾ cup of cold chicken stock and blend for a few more seconds. Transfer mixture to a bowl, fold in the two stiffly beaten egg whites and hold.

About 10 minutes before the end of the 2½ hours of simmering, stir into soup the slivers of chicken and ham, plus the bean sprouts and chopped watercress. Taste for seasoning and add a minimum of sea salt and Sichuan pepper. Be very careful not to dominate or override the supremely delicate and subtle flavor of the birds' nests.

In the final moment before serving, take saucepan off heat and gently stir into it chicken-puree mix, which will have two immediate effects: first, chicken will slightly thicken the soup; second, egg whites will add a charming decoration by solidifying into a multitude of tiny suspended white threads. Warm for a few seconds and serve instantly, in small portions. Garnish with quail eggs.

with caves where the swiftlets have been nesting, perhaps, for hundreds of years—and you had a contract with me for the delivery of so many thousands of nests per year—you would be extremely worried about the security of your island. It might be invaded at any time by poachers intent on taking the nests regardless of the consequences or the impact on the birds or the caves. Since we have a contract with you, and therefore a financial interest in your island, I am prepared to provide you with various means of defending it."

He explained the high prices: "All over the world, it is a seller's market for birds' nests. Chinese chefs in Chinese restaurants, however small and insignificant, want to be able to have bird's nest soup available, at least to special order, on their menus. And," Mr. Fred added, "the supply never catches up with the demand!" In fact, the demand for birds' nests has pushed prices so high that in 1979 a ship was deliberately sunk off the coast of the Philippines so the owners could collect insurance amounting to $11.5 million on its cargo—nine tons of birds' nests, as well as other valuable commodities. Authorities, when they realized that nine tons represented a staggering harvest of nests, grew suspicious. After the investigation, insurance fraud was proved. All that the ship's hold carried was granite dust worth $8 per ton.

By now I was anxious to visit the birds themselves, so I planned a journey that would take me to Malaysian Borneo, where I would visit the Niah caves in Sarawak and then go on to Sabah to the famous Gomantong caves. But first there was a briefing by the government officials who control the harvesting of birds' nests in the state of Sabah. They presented a thoroughly realistic and scientific point of view.

Since about 1934 there has been an ordinance in Sarawak to protect the birds, permitting the nests to be harvested only every 75 days. In the late 1950s when the area was under British Colonial rule, an aristocrat

Dumplings of birds' nests, meats and vegetables are covered with paper-thin nets of pork fat.

from England trained as a biologist, Lord Medway (now the Earl of Cranbrook), became fascinated by the life cycle of the edible-nest swiftlet. He undertook scientific studies of the taxonomy and biology of the bird, which indicated that the government-regulated period between collections was not long enough. Today at the Gomantong caves in Sabah only two nest harvests per year of the white-nest swiftlet are allowed. The first nest is collected before the eggs are laid. The male then makes a second nest, which is collected only after the fledglings have gone. But despite this policy the harvest recently seemed to decline and the Wildlife Section of the Forest Department has now launched a biological study of the swiftlets.

Lord Medway also found that the bird had a skill even greater than any for which it had been venerated: it can navigate in flight in the pitch-black darkness of the deepest recesses of the caves by echolocation. The bird emits sounds—rather like pebbles rattling in its throat. These sounds echo back from the rock walls and assist the bird in finding its nest.

I was looking forward to finding this immaculate, magical bird at Gomantong and I felt an extraordinary excitement as the small boat set out from Sandakan to cross the bay. After docking and a 14-mile drive, we walked the last few miles through rain forest. We entered the main cave and it was huge. The light was dim, coming only from several shafts to the outside. The odor was strong and the ground felt like large soft mounds of loose soil. I realized it was a carpet of guano —a mixture of bird and bat droppings. We sank in up to our ankles as we walked forward, and the surface appeared flecked with dark-gold specks that glittered and seemed to move. A closer examination revealed that these specks were a moving sea of predatory cockroaches burrowing under the surface and patrolling on top for anything that fell. A fledgling bird or injured adult stood no chance of survival on the ground.

The light shaft above us was suddenly filled with swiftlets taking off from their nests as a pair of white-crowned hornbills swooped in on a raid. There were also thousands of bats and we observed large centipedes, crabs and spiders, as well as snakes and an occasional scorpion. There were several long bamboo and rattan ladders hanging 200 to 300 feet from wooden staves wedged tightly into crevices in the limestone of the cave. Several nest collectors were climbing these ladders, carrying flashlights to locate the nests. They used special tools for gently grasping and loosening the nests, which they carefully put in rattan baskets attached to a pulley.

Few collectors have fallen to their deaths, which tells us what tremendous athletic skills they have developed. The ladders are replaced every year, but old ones are left in their rotting condition, possibly to discourage would-be poachers. There are always guards to protect the caves. We watched this incredible spectacle and admired the ability of one collector who took an hour to climb down the longest ladder.

In one year about a million nests may be collected in Sabah alone, worth millions of U.S. dollars on the retail market in Hong Kong. The illegal trade accounts for a substantial percentage of these nests.

I have learned much about the white-nest swiftlet on my journey to the caves and it is comforting to know that current studies will, we hope, guarantee the future of this remarkable bird.

As to the alleged magical nutritive properties of the nest material as food, I have learned that a chemical analysis showed that it is "of very low nutritive value." I shall not send a copy of this report to my friend Fen Dow Chan in Hong Kong.

A sweet dessert soup made with watermelon balls and birds' nests is served in a Hong Kong restaurant.

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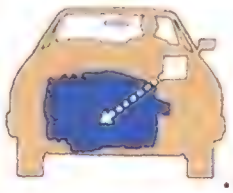

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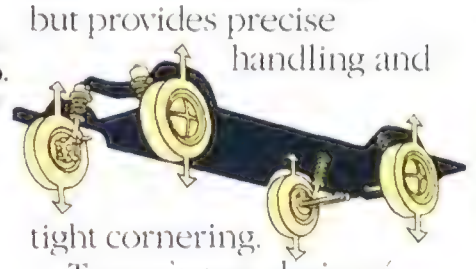

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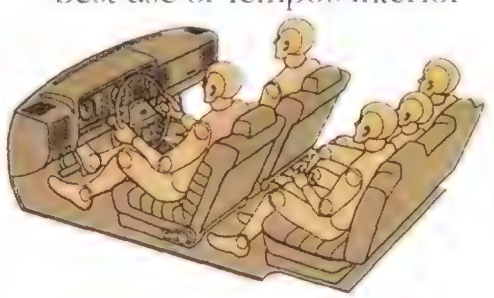

space. Its five-seat configuration allows for a comfortable combination of head, shoulder and legroom. In fact, there is more rear passenger room than a Mercedes 300D.

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By William McCloskey

No longer quaint but still queenly, the Met turns 100

A big business now, the Metropolitan Opera opens a centennial season in New York this month, abrim with vitality—and memories

Backstage at the Metropolitan Opera in New York City, we walk along a drab corridor quite different from the gilt-and-crystal auditorium out front. We step over the legs of denim-clad stagehands relaxing between scene shifts, and go through a door. Suddenly, we are standing just a few yards away from the performers in the second act of Giuseppe Verdi's *Don Carlo* (opposite).

Color and sound surround us. The nearest chorus members are ranged on a flight of steps leading down to the stage. We are close enough to smell their greasepaint. Tips of military pikes show through the gaps between curtains and wings. Banks of faces frame a center-stage clearing, where an anguished Placido Domingo pits his full-bodied tenor voice against the dark bass of a coldly regal Nicolai Ghiaurov. The performance has reached a point of showdown common in the pattern of grand opera—in this case the prince, Don Carlo, is publicly challenging his father, King Philip II of Spain. The sound has a physical presence, even as it rushes past the ear backstage to pour into the big auditorium from the throats of five solo artists and some 80 choristers. All 3,800 seats are filled and, as everyone expected given the cast and the conductor, James Levine, the performance has taken fire.

Don Carlo played the Met earlier this year: pikes at the ready, banners unfurled—opera at its grandest.

Vampish Rosa Ponselle made her 1918 Met debut opposite Enrico Caruso.

Wagnerian stalwart Helen Traubel sang at Met with gusto for close to 15 years.

As chaste Elisabeth in *Tannhäuser*, Maria Jeritza looked angelic c. 1920.

Looking anything but angelic, baritone Lawrence Tibbett brooded as Rigoletto.

Next month, on October 22 to be precise, the Metropolitan Opera will have been generating such excitement for exactly a century. Not all performances are as splendid as the *Don Carlo* presently unfolding onstage, but on nights like this, the Metropolitan's vitality surges to majestic heights that only the greatest musical institutions can attain. And if grand opera, as some scoffers insist, is a quaint 19th-century anachronism, many of the people in this rapt audience have happily left part of themselves in another time.

Onstage, the second-act curtain comes down and the audience shouts its approval. Domingo, soprano Mirella Freni, mezzo Grace Bumbry, baritone Louis Quilico, and Ghiaurov, a *Who's Who* of current major singers, take curtain call after curtain call. Up close, the elegance of their costumes and demeanor does nothing to hide the sweat on their faces. These performers have been working.

Behind the curtain, the stage turns gray, the scrape of feet replaces the music. Stagehands crowd every-

Polish basso Edouard de Reszke sang 377 times at Met beginning in 1891.

French soprano Emma Calvé titillated early audiences as coquettish Carmen.

Met's first Butterfly, Geraldine Farrar, was a favorite of flappers.

Time and again, Caruso brought down the house as sad clown in *Pagliacci.*

where, disassembling platforms in orderly progression, wheeling off pieces of public square as high as actual two-story buildings. The third-act curtain will rise in 25 minutes on an entirely new setting—three of them, in fact, each ready to be changed in a few seconds. Within a few short hours all trace of 16th-century Madrid will have vanished, replaced by a small Japanese house, cherry trees and a pond for Giacomo Puccini's *Madama Butterfly* or a forest for the opening of Richard Wagner's last music drama, *Parsifal.* "A Broadway show keeps the same sets night after night," says Joe Clark, the Met's surprisingly young technical director. "It's a lot different here."

Different, indeed. The Met functions like a great well-oiled machine. For its marathon New York season, from September through mid-April, the settings, props, lights and costumes must all mesh with soloists, chorus, dancers, extras and the orchestra for seven performances a week of four or five different operas, as well as five stage rehearsals, mostly of other pro-

Maria Callas' 1956 debut in *Norma* was a great success; her relations with Met management were stormy.

ductions. Besides this, smaller rehearsals for future productions are constantly under way in different locations throughout the vast opera house. Meanwhile, carpenters complete fragments of new sets on one level, seamstresses churn out racks of new costumes on another, and administrators work nearby in their corridors of offices. Thus are craftsmanship, art and management intermingled to create the magic of big-time opera.

The pleasures of attending opera range from simple enjoyment of the music, color and general excitement to immersion in a deep esthetic experience. Appreciation is not necessarily automatic for the uninitiated. It requires some preparation. Even the regulars do their homework, reading the libretto (or at least a synopsis) and listening to some of the music, so they know what to expect. More than that, a masterwork by one of the great opera composers—Mozart, Verdi, Wagner, Bellini, Rossini, Donizetti, Puccini or Richard Strauss—allows for musical and dramatic interpretation. This is the challenge to which individual artists respond. It helps explain the near frenzy a superb opera performance can inspire among even the most sophisticated members of an audience.

Announcement: great singing about to start

It was the Saturday afternoon broadcasts from the Met stage that first made opera accessible to millions of Americans. The broadcasts began on Christmas Day 1931, presented initially as a public service by the National Broadcasting Company. In 1940 began "the longest continuous sponsorship in broadcast history" when the Texas Company, as Texaco was then known, took over. On the final Saturday of the 1982-83 season last April, the program delivered its 849th performance. For opera listeners of two generations, the avuncular voice of announcer Milton Cross used to be a near-Pavlovian signal that the great singing was about to begin. Since Cross' death in 1975, honey-voiced Peter Allen has kept radio audiences informed, and in 1977 regular television coverage began.

Until after World War II, opera in the United States remained almost exclusively the province of the Met and its tour cities, and of Chicago and San Francisco, both of which for decades have produced regular fall seasons with major singers. The respected New York City Opera, which offers tickets at approximately half the price of the Met (without the international stars), is now a company that some consider second in scope only to its Manhattan rival. During the past few decades, a number of other cities have found the interest and means to stage several opera productions each year, but although the action has shifted a little, the Met remains indisputably at the center.

When the Metropolitan Opera opened its doors "way uptown" at 39th and Broadway on October 22, 1883, the New Yorkers who financed the venture were the era's millionaires. Their prime concern was to have an auditorium with enough boxes—122 in all—so that everyone who mattered enough to subscribe could visit and be seen. A more serious audience—very Germanic—occupied the regular seats. These patrons of relatively modest means were sometimes annoyed by the popping of champagne corks in the boxes.

The classic "Golden Age of Song" begins

From the start, the Met featured the world's leading artists. During its first few years, to great excitement, the later operas of Richard Wagner received their first American hearings there. They were conducted by Anton Seidl, who had worked with Wagner, and sung by a German cast that included the majestic, incredibly versatile Lilli Lehmann. The classic "Golden Age of Song" was the decade of the 1890s, when the dashing Polish tenor Jean de Reszke and his brother, Edouard, joined a mostly non-German company which included such legendary singers as Marcella Sembrich, Nellie Melba, Lillian Nordica, Emma Calvé, Ernestine Schumann-Heink, Francesco Tamagno and Victor Maurel.

Enrico Caruso arrived in 1903. The critics immediately pointed out that he lacked de Reszke's elegance, but the chubby young Neapolitan tenor had a manly voice of purest gold and an unassuming sincerity that quickly earned him a popularity that verged on adulation. The Caruso charisma lasted all 18 of his seasons, through December 1920, but the true time of legends was from 1908 to 1915, during the conducting tenure of the volatile genius Arturo Toscanini. Rave reviews attested to the extraordinary musical excitement that Caruso and Toscanini generated, along with sopranos Geraldine Farrar, Emmy Destinn and Olive Fremstad, contralto Louise Homer, baritone Antonio Scotti and several others.

Two other periods at the Met also had the tint of gold. One, in the 1920s and early 1930s, centered around the conducting of Tullio Serafin and the rich, smoky soprano of Rosa Ponselle. It included sopranos Elisabeth Rethberg and the beautiful Maria Jeritza, clarion tenor Giovanni Martinelli and golden-voiced Beniamino Gigli, baritones Giuseppe de Luca, Lawrence Tibbett and Titta Ruffo, and basses Feodor Chaliapin (a galvanizing actor) and the irrepressible Ezio Pinza (who was the quintessential male as Don Giovanni).

The Met's next complete cornucopia of great artists converged in the mid- and late 1930s around the heroic tenor (*Heldentenor*) of Lauritz Melchior and

At sumptuous old house on 39th and Broadway, society leaders occupied boxes in the "Diamond Horseshoe."

the engulfing soprano of Kirsten Flagstad. It drew guidance from the fervent conducting of Artur Bodanzky and his 25-year-old successor, Erich Leinsdorf, who remains a major conductor. The roster included, among others, soprano Lotte Lehmann (loved for her warmth and intense artistry), baritone Friedrich Schorr and bass Alexander Kipnis. They sang the heavy Wagnerian roles as possibly they had never been performed before; certainly never since.

Although some fans look longingly to stars of the past, there have been a great many Met singers and conductors since World War II. To list them is to invite an argument, but *among* those of legendary caliber should be included the late conductors Bruno Walter, Fritz Reiner and Karl Boehm; sopranos Zinka Milanov, Renata Tebaldi, Maria Callas (p. 82), Birgit Nilsson, Leontyne Price, Beverly Sills, Joan Sutherland and Montserrat Caballé; mezzo Marilyn Horne; tenors Jussi Bjoerling, Richard Tucker, Franco Corelli, Jon Vickers, Placido Domingo (opposite) and Luciano Pavarotti (p. 87); baritones Leonard Warren and Sherrill Milnes.

The opera faithful remember their favorites, and a long-retired Milanov or Bidú Sayão can still expect applause whenever she takes her seat in a Met audience. About five years ago I passed Maria Jeritza at the Met. She was still regal in her 90s, a fair-haired vision in ermine. On an impulse, I confronted her, clicked my heels (how else do you treat a diva wearing diamonds?), declared "Madame Jeritza, it is a great pleasure to see you again in the Opera House," and kissed the hand in long white glove that came up instinctively. "Thank you very much," she said with a slight accent. Then we both continued on our separate ways, smiling.

A typical Met audience contains a mix of the casual and the dedicated. Some of the most knowledgeable opera buffs occupy the cheapest seats, up in the Family Circle. This is binocular country, but the acoustics are among the best in the house. A more informal and perhaps even more passionately devoted cadre are the standees who lean against the rails behind the orchestra seats and those of the Family Circle. The Met recognizes their special place in the overall scheme of things, and sells the relatively cheap ($5 to $7) standee tickets whether the house is full or not. The standees, a colorful and talkative lot, include students—I often stood—and others of all ages who can better afford discomfort than higher prices.

While singers and conductors make the Met an institution that has been worth supporting for a hundred years, the complicated production of opera would hardly hold together without management. Two managers, each serving for more than two decades, left particular marks through their strong presence: Giulio Gatti-Casazza, whose imperious reign extended from 1908 to 1935, and Rudolf Bing, who presided for 22 years, beginning in 1950. Both men ruled absolutely. Gatti came with Toscanini (who eventually left in a power showdown with him), kept Caruso and Ponselle happy, and presented a multitude of new works. Bing, an austere man with a stinging wit, drew hostilities as taffy draws flies.

Part of Bing's controversial image resulted from his sometimes disdainful approach to negotiations with musicians and stagehands (not to mention singers) in an era of strong unions. Bing reports in his memoirs that once he "made a weary answer" to the vituperative tirade of an energetic labor lawyer who then snapped, " 'Are you trying to show your contempt for the way I conduct a bargaining session?' All I could say was, 'On the contrary, Mr. Gray, I am trying very hard to conceal it.' "

Bing, an Austrian-turned-British-subject, is credited with two nonmusical landmarks. He broke the color

At dramatic conclusion of Verdi's *Otello*, Placido Domingo in the title role strangles poor Desdemona.

William McCloskey wrote of the Canadian seal hunt in November 1979. Last year, he was a panelist on Texaco Opera Quiz, *broadcast from the Metropolitan.*

She was played in 1979 performance by soprano Gilda Cruz-Romo. Domingo is one of Met's top stars.

barrier by opening the Met to a prominent black singer, Marian Anderson, years before civil-rights consciousness might have forced the issue. He also shepherded the Met to its new house in Lincoln Center.

Onstage, Bing changed the face of the opera by emphasizing its capacity for real drama. Recently I asked Sir Rudolf, now knighted and in his 80s, to characterize what most in his regime he would like remembered. "I tried to turn opera into good theater," he said at once. "I hired good stage directors, for example, who insisted that singers learn to act."

"Did singers object?" I asked. "You always run into opposition from singers," he replied. It came from a tired, aging-man's distance—a mild echo of the acerbic statements that once drew headlines. This was the man who took on the big ones, singers like Melchior and Callas, when they defiantly refused to toe his definition of the line.

At present, Anthony A. Bliss holds the top management job, with James Levine in near-autonomous second place as music director. This divides the responsibility in a way neither Gatti nor Sir Rudolf (who told me so himself) would have tolerated, but the mutual respect between Bliss and Levine appears to make it work. Bliss, in his 70s, is an aristocratic though accessible man who grew up as part of the fabled "Diamond Horseshoe" set—the name applied to occupants of the gilded boxes in the old Met—and has been active in Met affairs as a board member much of his life. His goal, before he retires in 1985, is to make the Met relatively secure by means of the income from a $100 million endowment.

Opera performed to the standards of the world's major houses simply cannot pay for itself, even at a top ticket price of $75 at the Met. European governments recognize this by subsidizing their opera companies. American opera must largely fund itself. The Met has often needed to operate from season to season with deficits absorbed mainly by the contributions of corporate and individual donors. During the Bing years, the annual budget quadrupled from $5 million to $20 million. Bliss' current budget runs $70 million. A new production, of which the Met needs four or five annually to retain its position, costs between $400,000 and $700,000, exclusive of rehearsals. "These days, opera is big business," Bliss acknowledges.

How does the present big-business Met compare with that of the old days? Many in the standee line will admit, some grudgingly, that the orchestra and chorus have never sounded better than since James Levine became principal conductor. Levine, an apparently good-natured man who has just turned 40, draws work from his performers that is often inspired. Major singers are said to become more available when they know that "Jimmy" will wave the baton.

Levine in the pit: a heroic work load

One of the most frequent criticisms of the present management, however, is that Levine conducts too often, crowding out others, saving the plums for himself and, in the long run, hurting the Met by making it too dependent on one person. In fact, according to Bliss, the Met constantly cajoles and invites many of the world's major conductors, but few are willing or able to commit themselves for the amount of time required. Consequently, Levine must assume a heroic work load in their absence.

Despite the many major singers who grace the Met's stage, another recent criticism is the alleged poverty of the house's day-to-day casts. "Today's calamity," declares Erich Leinsdorf, who conducted a brilliant new *Arabella* last spring 45 years after his debut, "is that the Met is no longer able to command the best singers." Joan Ingpen, one of the Met's assistant managers, disagrees with that assessment, but lack of money, she concedes, can make it harder to attract top singers. The Met just raised its top fee from $6,000 to $8,000 a performance, but other places are rumored to pay

Fans applaud at Lincoln Center house; it opened with gala 1966 performance of *Antony and Cleopatra.*

nearly double that. Moreover, a federal income tax siphons 30 percent of this off the top of a foreign performer's fee.

With its high arches, gleaming Austrian chandeliers and twin canvases by Marc Chagall, the building dominates New York's classy Lincoln Center, but its inner spaces are characterized by a general functional barrenness. The cramped old house was a nightmare to work in, recalls Herman Krawitz, one of Bing's assistant managers, who is credited for helping with the design that makes the new house a wonder of backstage capability. Even so, sentimentalists like myself still mourn the fall of the old house to the wrecker's ball. With its sumptuous maroon-and-gold interior, it had one thing money cannot buy today: character.

The new house opened on September 16, 1966, with suitable celebrations, but the closing gala at the old Met several months earlier embodied more of the spirit that keeps opera audiences exhilarated and craving more. Virtually everyone on the then-current Met roster performed, while around them onstage sat most of the surviving members of past rosters. Elisabeth Rethberg, dried and frail, received a tumultuous ovation when she was escorted out to take her seat onstage. She leaned into it like a parched woman drinking clearest spring water. Lotte Lehmann, one great Sieglinde of her time, wept as Jon Vickers sang the love song that had been directed to her so often in the first act of *Die Walküre*. Licia Albanese, following her aria from *Madama Butterfly*, impulsively kneeled on the stage and kissed the boards with her hands. Luminous, inspired performances came particularly from sopranos Dorothy Kirsten, Leontyne Price and Birgit Nilsson. Temperatures rose when the reigning romantic team of Renata Tebaldi and Franco Corelli sang a passionate duet from *Manon Lescaut*.

Zinka Milanov, having announced that she would retire with the old house, sang a duet from *Andrea Chénier* with Richard Tucker. Her voice had begun to show wear, but that night it rang out splendid and clear to remind the audience of what it was hearing for the last time. Tears, confetti of torn programs, flowers, hoarse bravas. It was nearly 1 A.M., but the demonstration continued and continued, even after Tucker grinned and pointed to his watch.

Opera, after all, despite its complexity and the sweat required to perform it, becomes in the end a matter of the heart. Otherwise, who would have cared enough to support a 19th-century institution like the Met for more than 80 years into the 20th century?

A throwback to the flamboyant Metropolitan tenors of the past, Luciano Pavarotti sings in *L'elisir d'amore.*

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By John Canaday

'We must be of our time and work with what we see'

Edouard Manet followed this principle to create the great paintings currently on exhibit at the Metropolitan Museum

The life-span of Edouard Manet, give or take a few years either side of his birth in 1832 and his death in 1883, seems from where we stand to have been the best of all times in the best of all places to have been a painter, a critic, a collector, or simply a spectator of the art scene. Manet himself, if he could look back at Paris from his present triumphant position, might agree, but he was given little reason to think so at the time. In his early 30s he became the victim of two violent scandals and of some of the most vituperative criticism inflicted on any artist during a century notable—in France, at least—for the viciousness of the art establishment's effort to stifle innovation.

An innovator with a strong sense of tradition—inspired, in fact, by such Old Masters as Raphael, Titian, Velázquez and Goya—Manet suffered deeply from his early notoriety as an outrageous renegade and, off and on for the rest of his life, from recurrent humiliating rejections by the officialdom of French art. He was revered by other artists we now recognize as his major contemporaries, and he gained the allegiance of such critics as had the perception and the courage to go against the current. But all his life Manet wanted

The Gare Saint-Lazare (*Le Chemin de fer*, 1872-73) was painted in a garden overlooking the station. Critics and public carped at the title; where was the train? Manet had enveloped it in white smoke.

National Gallery of Art, Washington

Musée d'Orsay (Galeries du Jeu de Paume), Paris

Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe (1863) was the first of Manet's paintings to cause a scandal. Its viewers apparently could not figure out its "meaning"—although it was based on familiar classical themes.

more than any other kind of recognition the certification awarded by the lesser artists and smaller minds who had come into the leadership of the French Academy, men who made or broke careers in the annual exhibition called the Salon.

In his last years Manet saw his younger friends among the Impressionists attain a degree of acceptance, and when his relatively early death became imminent, influential friends forced his nomination for the Legion of Honor, membership in the Academy being an obvious impossibility. Too weak and miserable by that time to enjoy even this pallid and rather dubious honor, in the last stages of locomotor ataxia, Manet could hardly have imagined the totality of the Impressionist victory that was to come. Nor could he have foreseen that the two paintings that had set off the early scandals—his *Déjeuner sur l'herbe* and *Olympia*—would find their way into the Louvre, or that the Louvre would join forces with a then 13-year-old institution in New York called the Metropolitan Museum of Art to observe the centenary of his death with an exhibition summarizing his brilliance as a painter and affirming his key position as an Old Master of modern art—the strongest link between the great tradition of the past and the Impressionist revolution. The exhibition, having closed in Paris, will open at the Metropolitan on the tenth of this month and run through November 27 (but in somewhat different form—neither *Le Déjeuner* nor *Olympia*, for example, will make the trip from Paris). It is the most extensive Manet show since 1884, the year following his death, when the Academy, either from embarrassed repentance or under the erroneous conviction that a dead heretic is no longer a dangerous heretic, authorized a memorial exhibition at its stronghold, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts.

Manet ran into trouble as a realist who rejected the prettification, the sugary idealism, the mythological travesties and inflated heroics typical of Salon demonstration pieces. He painted instead the world around him as he saw it and enjoyed it. While still a student in the *lycée* in the 1840s, according to his friend

Eminent critic and writer on art, John Canaday last wrote about Constable in the May 1983 issue.

Musée d'Orsay (Galeries du Jeu de Paume), Paris

Olympia (1863) made for an even greater scandal. Nudity in mythological figures was acceptable, but here was a contemporary nude—perhaps no better than she ought to be—who coolly returned one's gaze.

Antonin Proust, he declared "We must be of our time and work with what we see." It became the guiding principle of his art. What sets him apart from painters of his time who were technical wizards at the precise, detailed imitation of surfaces is an individual technique based on vivid abbreviations of the prolixity of visual fact, a kind of pictorial shorthand that captures —and enhances—the visual essence of a subject freed from distracting secondary aspects.

Manet is first of all a great painter in the purest sense of the word as one who works with paint. Elegant and exuberant, an art of high style without stylistic affectations, an art where effects of dashing spontaneity are created with absolute technical control, his paintings a hundred years later—less because of their subjects than because of their presentation—reflect the delight of living at the heart of a wonderful century in that century's most wonderful city.

It is, perhaps, too easy to overemphasize the frustrations in Manet's professional life, the obtuse judgments of the conservative authoritarians and their abuse of the power invested in the Academy. In spite of all this, Manet was a gregarious man without financial problems who moved in exhilarating company, the interlocking worlds of artists and intellectuals, statesmen and patricians, and the most attractive upper levels of the demimonde. Never exactly a family man, he married his piano teacher, Suzanne Leenhoff, after an extended liaison that had produced a son. The union provided an anchor of sorts, but somehow adds up to little more than a running footnote in the records of Manet's lively social and professional activities. The lovely Berthe Morisot, who painted in a charming feminization of Manet's style and was hopelessly in love with him, always called Suzanne "his fat wife." And when Degas painted Manet listening to his wife playing the piano, Manet cut off the right side where Suzanne appeared, leaving the painting a portrait of himself asprawl on a sofa.

Manet's Paris, as the art center of the world, was like no other that had ever existed. Innovative talents burgeoned there with a fecundity comparable to that of 15th-century Florence or 17th-century Rome, but there the similarity ends and circumstances that had a

Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

Edgar Degas' drawing *Manet Seated* (c. 1864) conveys a sense of his old friend's fatigue and frustration.

great deal to do with Manet's difficulties begin. The term "art scene" is absurd if we try to apply it to the Renaissance; the whole idea of what art is, how and by whom and for whom and for what reasons it is produced, was transformed in the 19th century by two factors that we take for granted in the 20th. The Parisian "art scene" that Manet knew was produced by the appearance for the first time of a mass audience, esthetically illiterate for the most part, but ready to impose its taste in fields that until then had been the domain of connoisseurs. Added to that was a change in the idea of what an artist is—the romantic concept of artists as a special breed, not quite like the rest of us but tolerated in spite of their disregard for respectability because of their picturesque mores and habitats. The sentimental cliché of the young painter or writer struggling in a kind of carefree poverty for fame and fortune, the genius-in-a-garret, was crystallized once and for all between 1847 and 1849 by the novelist Henri Murger in his *Scènes de la vie de Bohème* (the source, 50 years later, for Puccini's *La Bohème*).

Incapable of sharing good-fellowship

Manet, who loved good living and could afford it, had no patience with the false paradise of Bohemia; he had observed at first hand the realities of being poor and unknown in the lives of younger painters among the Impressionists-to-be, including Renoir and Monet. (The confusion between Monet's name and his own was additionally bothersome to Manet because of young Monet's ignorance—or disregard—of social niceties.) Sympathetic to the Impressionists' cause and respectful of their talent, Manet was incapable of sharing their good-fellowship. He took part in the discussions carried on in cafés where they congregated, and he won a reputation for mordant wit, but there was always a suggestion that this smartly turned-out visitor felt he was slumming.

As the Impressionist movement matured, Manet worked closely with some members of the group, including Monet, but he steadfastly refused to join the independent exhibitions beginning in 1874 in which the Impressionists found their name and became recognized as a force to be taken seriously. The only member that Manet accepted in full friendship was a man two years younger, equally urbane and removed from Bohemia by patrician lineage and comfortable circumstances—the great Degas, who joined the Impressionists because he believed in their cause although he could easily have made his career in the Salon.

The Salon, initiated as an instrument in the Academy's avowed function as the guardian and perpetuator of the best in French culture, had become a monstrous institution by 1863. This was partly because

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The Balcony was exhibited in the Salon of 1869. Berthe Morisot, the artist, is in the foreground.

of the ossification of the Academy itself, partly because the new mass audience, eager for culture but afraid to trust its own judgment, followed the Academy's cues to praise or damn—thus, by history's record, betting on the wrong team—and to a significant degree because of the Bohemian proliferation. In 1863, 3,000 artists raised to a total of 5,000 the number of paintings submitted to the Salon jury. Of these, a numbing 2,000 were accepted for exhibition.

Acceptance in the Salon was the primary prerequisite for even the most modest of careers, something like a union card in a closed shop that was renewed or canceled each season. Salon juries differed—occasionally liberal, usually conservative, frequently hidebound—but it was too much to expect even the best jury to be altogether free from prejudice and politicking in the ingrown world of official art. The juries also awarded prizes, from gold medals that usually went to well-established artists on down to honorable mentions, which might go to exceptional newcomers. Manet, after the rejection of his first submission in 1859, had received an honorable mention in 1861. In addition, his two paintings—one a double portrait of his parents (always an appealing subject to a sentimental public), the other a Spanish guitar player (enjoyably picturesque)—had made a great popular success. It was an excellent start for a 29-year-old, but it fell to pieces in 1863.

In that year it seemed to the rejected painters that prejudice and spite had governed the jury's choices. Whether or not this was so, it is true that an exceptionally undistinguished jury had rejected numbers of artists who had been regularly accepted before. Such a clamor arose that finally the Emperor, Napoleon III, ordered a second salon, the Salon des Refusés, to run concurrently with the Salon proper in order that the public might judge for itself. Along with 1,000 rejected sculptures, the 3,000 rejected paintings (except for a few that the painters chose to withdraw) were installed adjacent to the 2,000 of the Salon proper in the Palais de l'Industrie, a vast structure left over from the 1855 world's fair.

Manet becomes a controversial painter

Since there were no restrictions on submission, the Salon des Refusés probably included a majority of paintings bad enough to have been thrown out by any jury at a glance. There were also paintings by names still identifiable that were at least as good as the average painting in the Salon. And there were some, a few, that were far better, including three by Manet.

Following his success in the Salon of 1861, Manet had made a double tactical error by exhibiting a group of less conventional paintings at Martinet's, a prominent dealer's gallery. In the first place, the Academy expected a young painter to continue his career by submitting paintings to subsequent Salons for the jury's appraisal. An ambitious one-man show at a gallery in the interval was a form of impertinence. In the second place, Manet's show received such mixed notices that he was established as a controversial painter, not at all to Salon taste. If for these reasons the 1863 jury was looking for an excuse to reject Manet's submissions, he made it easy for them with *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe* (translated as *Luncheon on the Grass*, the title loses its flavor), in which a nude young woman sits casually alongside two fully dressed gallants at a picnic, while, in the background, another female figure clad in a gauzy shift bathes in a shallow pool (p. 92).

Manet's intention was to restate in terms of modern life an Arcadian theme familiar from Venetian Renaissance painters such as Titian and Giorgione. As a further reference to standard works of the past, he posed the three foreground figures in attitudes derived from a group of river gods in a large composition

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originally painted by Raphael, the Academy's idol.

It must be admitted that these references to the past seem a little forced, and that *Le Déjeuner sur l'herbe*, for all its importance as a key painting in the history of modern art, is not really an entirely satisfactory picture. The foreground nude and the tumble of clothing and picnic paraphernalia beside her are breathtakingly brilliant examples of Manet's painterly genius and his now individual coloration, but the model, obviously posed in the studio, is only perfunctorily united with the woodsy landscape behind her. (Manet, as usual, was lost out-of-doors, although he never went as far as his friend Degas, who claimed that fresh air didn't agree with him.)

But it was not for such shortcomings that the picture was derided, tittered at, and abhorred by a public that made it the centerpiece of the Salon des Refusés. Unable to comprehend the painting as a demonstration

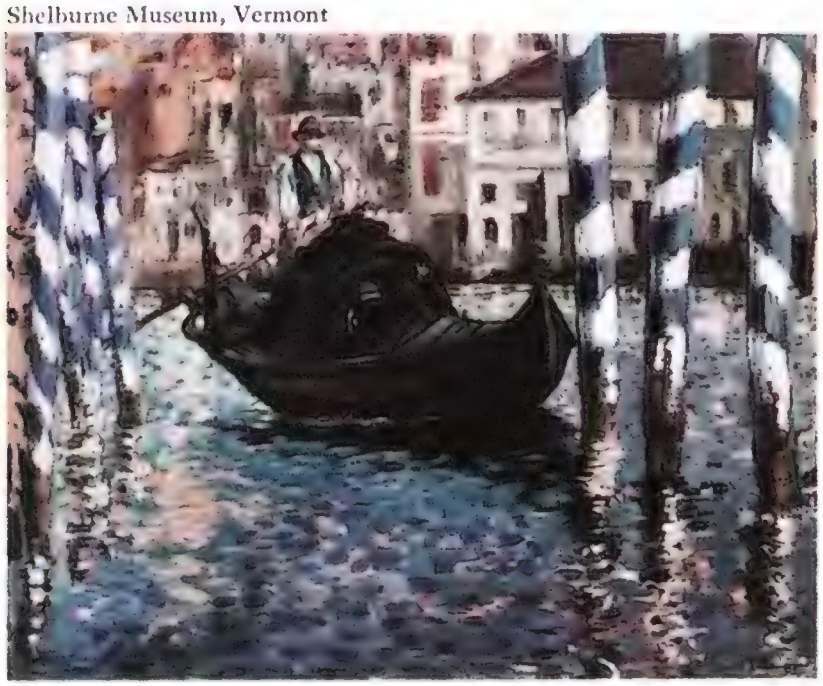
The Races at Longchamp (c. 1867) exemplifies Manet's "shorthand technique," capturing with verve and immediacy the headlong rush of horses pounding down the track.

piece, and assured that no painting in the Salon des Refusés need be taken seriously (otherwise, why would the Academy have thrown it out?), the public settled on *Le Déjeuner* as a whipping boy to shore up their insecurities in the face of an arresting picture that they could not understand. So did many critics, although there were some surprisingly sympathetic reactions to the idea that possibly the Salon's appraisals of merit were not necessarily beyond question. In that respect

the Salon des Refusés was the turning point in the history of an institution whose authority was to evaporate by the end of the century.

The scandal of *Le Déjeuner* was mild in comparison with the attacks on Manet's *Olympia* (p. 93) two years later. Here again, but more pertinently, Manet modernized a Renaissance theme, referring directly to Titian's *Venus of Urbino*, in which an opulently fleshed courtesan reclines on a bed with a small dog at her feet, while two maidservants work at a linen chest in the background. Manet translated Titian's languorous nude into a taut-bodied naked young woman, a successful professional rather than Titian's idealized beauty, accompanied by a black cat instead of the little dog, and a maidservant, now black, brought forward from the background to deliver a bouquet from an admirer, or client. In its frank realism *Olympia* forecasts Zola's *Nana* of 1879, but with none of the sociological concern of Zola's study of prostitution.

Shelburne Museum, Vermont



The Grand Canal in Venice was actually painted in Paris, from memory, after a brief visit.

The female nude was a standard subject in the Salons, more often than not erotic and frequently downright lascivious, but wearing the protective guise of Venus and other attractive goddesses offering the same combination of nudity and acceptability. Manet's brash little Parisienne, not pretending to be any better than she was, was something else. It is pleasant to think that *Olympia*, a true masterpiece, could hardly have been turned down by any Salon jury, and the 1865 jury was a liberal one. More likely, other considerations worked in the picture's favor. Manet had been accepted in the Salon of 1864 with no success but, on the other hand, no scandal, and had held another exhibition at Martinet's with a favorable reception. If the public was to be shocked by *Olympia*, as seemed likely, it might be better to let the painting be a controversial centerpiece in the Salon than a *succès de scandale* in yet another Salon des Refusés. *Olympia* was accepted.

"As famous as Garibaldi"

The reception was even worse than could have been expected, and is hard to understand today. The color, so fresh and clear, was called sour; the model was "depraved" and like "high game" (*faisandée*); the crowds around the picture were compared to sensation seekers at the morgue. From Manet's old enemies the vituperation, even in its violence, can be explained as a form of self-indulgence by critics eager, themselves, to be sensational, but there were other criticisms more wounding to Manet. Courbet, the Old Master of realism, withdrew his support, and even so sensitive and adventurous a litterateur as Théophile Gautier accused Manet of trying to attract attention at any price. Manet's old friends stuck by him—Zola, of course, and Baudelaire, who supported Manet consistently in letters to him and to others; and Degas, who commented that at least Manet could take some satisfaction in having become as famous as Garibaldi.

Degas recorded his friend's fatigue and distress in two of his finest drawings, rejecting the standard image of Manet in others' works. As an iconic figure in the struggle with the establishment, Manet was painted again and again by sympathetic colleagues—a rather short, vigorous figure impeccably tailored, alert and confident in bearing. In Degas' first drawing (p. 94), Manet has apparently dropped in at the studio and is posed impromptu in a straight chair still wearing a coat, top hat in hand, shoulders somewhat bowed, and with an expression tinged with bitter amusement partially concealed by his beard and

mustache. In the second drawing he has discarded the coat, the top hat is on the floor, and any hint of humor has given way to the weariness of a man who has taken more than his share of abuse from mediocre intellects who had no idea what he was trying to do.

After these storms Manet must have felt that nothing could get worse. Perhaps, after all, there was a point to being as famous as Garibaldi. His in-and-out relationship with the Salon continued; some years he decided not to send; others, he was rejected. No matter. He was only 33 when the *Olympia* scandal broke, and from then on he was increasingly the dominant figure in contemporary art. His notoriety was becoming fame; critics recognized that he would be an important figure in the history of French art whatever the future might think of his painting. In 1873, eight years after exhibiting *Olympia*, he made a resounding success in the Salon with a picture his friends detested, *Le Bon Bock*, which the public loved because it showed a jolly fat man smoking a pipe and drinking beer. In 1881, with the backing of powerful friends, Manet received a medal second class—for two portraits—over the objections of a strong minority in the Salon jury. He was 49, with hardly two more years to live.

In the meantime there had always been Paris, the theaters, the cabarets, the races, the pretty women, the dinners in fine houses, the variety of good friends, the adulation of young artists—the good life. Until close to the end, his vigor as a painter held strong. His last painting in the Salon—of 1882—shares first place with *Olympia* as his masterpiece, if one must be chosen from so many. No gods, no goddesses, no historical flimflam, just the bar at the Folies-Bergère, a glorious area of paint, sparkling with life.

Bar at the Folies-Bergère (1881-82) was Manet's last masterpiece. As usual, the public objected to his choice of subject—a gaudy music hall—and was blinded to its astonishing technical virtuosity.

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By Lawrence E. Taylor

On Maine's coast scientists measure the pulse of life

A Smithsonian team hopes to piece together the inner workings of Gouldsboro Bay so well that everybody can take more out of it

The mud flats at Gouldsboro Bay, Maine, are eerie when one stands ankle-deep in the greenish-brown mire in a heavy fog, with the shore a quarter-mile away and the tide coming in. The water moves slowly and relentlessly shoreward, forcing the plovers and other small, long-legged birds to scurry from it.

Walter Adey and David Robichaux (below) move with some difficulty in the muck, their attention captured by the pale algae and brilliant green eelgrass growing on the exposed mud. Their boat is drawn up on the flat and they must move it frequently before the incoming tide floats it away. Adey, who has done research in Maine for so many years that it is virtually a second home, carries a butcher knife and a number of small plastic bags. Robichaux, a Gulf Coast Texan far from home, carries a core-box sampler, which is nothing more than a steel one-gallon can, open at one end, with the other end containing a simple rubber stopper. Thus equipped, the two men are engaged in one phase of an ambitious project: to measure the amount of solar energy captured by plants in this northern bay and to determine how it is used to sustain life.

Their work has taken them and their colleagues at the Smithsonian's Museum of Natural History to the mud flats of inner Gouldsboro Bay, to the rocks lining the outer shores, to the bottom of the bay itself and even below it. They are collecting algae, plankton, fish, bivalves, echinoderms, worms, snails, barnacles—in short, a sample of virtually everything that lives in and draws its existence from the bay, contributing its own substances to the food chains that form an endless cycle of life. They want to determine not just what species are there, but the number and collective weight of each. For the more abundant species, they also try to find out how much and what food the organism eats and how fast it grows.

It is difficult and often tedious work, but it is Adey's intention to determine exactly how the bay ecosystem functions. He and his associates are doing basic research, but equally important, they hope to find out how the fishermen and other users of the bay can improve their livelihood with the least effect on the animal and plant community. On a global level, Adey

David Robichaux, left, and Walter Adey haul a skiff ahead of the incoming tide as they sample mud flat.

Inedible horse mussels and red algae crowd the rocks 50 feet below the surface of Gouldsboro Bay in Maine.

Mike Brittsan samples algae on seaward side of an island. Pounding waves keep plant productivity low.

believes humankind can learn to derive much more food from the sea without doing harm, especially if we become farmers instead of hunters. "It should be among the highest government priorities to support fisheries, sanctuaries and aquaculture," he says.

Now, as the sun burns off the fog, Adey and Robichaux slop across the mud flat, stopping at intervals. Robichaux pushes the core-box sampler down into the mud, plugs the stopper into the lip of the can and pulls upward. With a sucking sound, the can pulls free, bringing with it a sample of mud, algae and eelgrass. Adey slices off the surface layer along with its plant life and drops it into a plastic bag (p. 110). They repeat the process as they work their way toward shore. Finally, at high tide, clutching their samples, they steer their boat down the bay toward the *Marsys Resolute*, a 100-foot converted tuna clipper (*Marsys* is short for Marine Systems). The ship, skippered by Adey, serves as home and floating laboratory for the 16 scientists of the Smithsonian's Marine Systems Laboratory.

On Young's Point, wave action has removed glacial till and deposited cobbles and sand on the beach.

Once aboard, Adey and Robichaux grind each sample and mix it with acetone, which dissolves chlorophyll and other pigments, the basic energy-capturing units of all plant life in Gouldsboro Bay. Measuring the abundance and distribution of chlorophyll is one way for Adey and his staff to form a basic understanding of the bay and its ecology. Other scientists are collecting different plant specimens to complete the picture. Silvano Campello, a Brazilian graduate student at George Washington University, pilots a small boat through the bay towing several mesh bags. The mesh is of two sizes, one fine enough to collect zooplankton—small animals that live near the surface—the other even finer to trap phytoplankton, the chlorophyll-producing microscopic plants on which the tiny animals feed. Close to where the bay opens, David Packer (opposite) collects algae from the rocks. He is particularly interested in the knotweed *Ascophyllum nodosum*; each branch of this plant forms a bladder or float every year, so by counting the branch tips and carefully weighing the segments between bladders, he can determine how much grows annually on a square meter of intertidal rock face. Packer has already learned that the production rate is enormous, much higher than that of the local forests and generally more than that of Midwestern farmland.

Others dive in the 54-degree-F water to check the growth of kelp, the ten- to 20-foot long *Laminaria longicruris* and the shorter, slit-leafed *Laminaria digitata*. Deeper down they find *Agarum cribosum*, known as sea colander or shotgun kelp because its leaves are full of holes. Mike Brittsan (above) and Teena Taxis check the growth of tagged kelp plants and measure the grazing of sea urchins. Where they are not limited

Charlotte Johnson and David Packer take specimen of fast-growing knotweed from the intertidal rocks.

by wave action or predators such as lobsters, urchins can devastate large kelp beds and reduce the ability of the bottom to capture solar energy.

Elsewhere, Gary Zarillo and Kim Bjork record the temperature and salinity of the water in various parts of the bay. Zarillo has also strung current meters on anchored lines along the axis of the bay. Eventually he will know how the waters move from hour to hour as well as where sediments are deposited.

On the *Marsys Resolute*, Craig Shipp and Stephanie Staples load aluminum pipe, a gasoline-driven vibrator, winches and other tools into a heavily built workboat. Along with Adey, they move up the bay to a precisely located spot, anchor and begin to drive the pipe down into the mud. An hour later and 25 feet into the sediment, the pipe refuses to go farther despite intense vibration. The part of the pipe above water is cut off and stoppered. Several hours later, yielding to the winches as well as the rising tide and the buoyancy of the boat, the pipe breaks free and is hauled aboard. Shipp scrapes some blue-gray mud out of the lower end. "Yup," he exclaims, "it's Presumpscot, all right." A glacial till 12,000 to 13,000 years old that underlies modern sediments everywhere in the bay, Presumpscot is the base or marker horizon to which the scientists always try to work back.

Half waterlogged and cold, Shipp sips coffee and talks about how geology is far more important to this coast than the biologists will accept. "After all," he says, "rocky shores have very different plants and animals from muddy shores. It is the interaction of rising and lowering sea level and wave and current action against the glacial tills that decides where bold, rock-faced coasts will dominate."

Adey, who is as much a geologist as an ecologist, agrees with Shipp on the importance of geological processes in ecology. Back at the evening meal on the ship, he quips with the biologists about their "narrow" views. Nevertheless, for the moment it is the chlorophyll and plant production that Adey and his crew need to measure to get a handle on the capture of solar energy in the bay. By measuring plant production and utilization throughout the bay, the scientists can detect changes, even subtle ones, in the bay's ecology. If the amount of plant production drops, or varies in dominant species or location, it may mean that an influx of pollutants is destroying or changing the plant life, or that the number of grazers has radically changed. For example, the number of urchins that graze on algae could be growing rapidly, possibly because the lobsters that prey on urchins are declining. Every year the lobstermen place more and more traps in the water, yet catches are not keeping pace with the increased effort.

The plant populations are vital to the bay. Few of the higher forms of life eat plants, but they are dependent on the lower forms that do. As rockweed, kelp

Bill Bernard starts to weigh a worm from bottom mud. One square meter may contain 20,000 invertebrates.

Ropes suspended from a raft are loaded with young mussels, which can be harvested the following year.

and other plants break loose from their moorings, they are gathered by the waves and deposited on the rocky shore during high tides. Finally left high and partially dry at the highest tides of the month, the plant material begins to decay, partly broken up by little shrimplike amphipods, finally being reduced to a brown mud that Adey calls an "algal soup." Ultimately, other extra-high tides wash the soup back into the bay where it is dispersed throughout the estuary to feed plankton, mussels, clams, worms and a whole host of small animals in the food web.

But if Adey is concerned with the basic food webs in the bay, his vision goes much further, to the highest form of life—humans themselves. "Fishermen are part of the coast," he says. "Just like the lobsters and seals, they have a right here also." It is this outlook, as much as his profession as a marine ecologist, that brings Adey here as part of the Marine Sanctuary Program operated by the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration.

"We can argue esthetics and the quality of life from now to kingdom come," he says, "but there is no arguing that it is in the interest of us all to preserve the biota. Food from the sea is important to us; we've always hunted for it. Yet, the fishing (or hunting) process is inefficient and we are running short." Walter H. Adey, 48 years old, ruddy-faced, with an accent that confirms his birthplace near Boston, stands on the *Marsys Resolute* as she swings to her anchor in 40 feet of water. He continues: "We are destroying species left and right, and we are taking more from the sea than can be produced. This means one thing to me—we have to gain a better understanding and devise newer, more efficient means to increase our output of food from the oceans. The so-called blue revolution to follow the green revolution just hasn't happened.

"We will have to develop aquaculture based on the species that are out there," he says. He recalls the great auk, a very large, harmless, flightless seabird that was hunted to extinction in the mid-19th century. That bird was extremely valuable to the North Atlantic fishermen of the 1600s and 1700s. It could have been a true "chicken of the sea" and now it is gone forever. Other species that are potentially valuable as food may become extinct if they are not protected. For Adey, the answer does not lie in confrontations among environmentalists and fishermen, consumers and industrialists. "Through understanding and management on a local level by the people most affected, we can all use the coast without damaging either its components or its functioning."

Segments of the U.S. fishing fleet face diminishing returns. Aquaculture has been very slow to develop and commercial efforts to farm food and biomass (plant material to be used as animal fodder or a fuel source) in the sea have yet to succeed. But Adey does not see the future as hopeless. In a small way, the crew of the *Marsys Resolute* is working with the fishermen of Gouldsboro Bay to sustain the bay as a means of livelihood. The bay shares problems with the rest of Maine: the lobster catch remains constant while the number of lobstermen grows, clamming is falling off, scallop populations vary widely from year to year. Blue mussels, the edible variety, are already being harvested in the wild to their limit, and sometimes beyond, on parts of the Maine coast.

In the wild, mussels grow slowly, taking from four to seven years to reach marketable size. And although mussels grow in Gouldsboro Bay, they are not present in sufficient numbers to support an industry for long. Equally important, their quality in the wild can be very poor, with valueless pearls and mud making them less than desirable on the table. But Adey is trying a

A diver who wrote about research on coral reefs in the January 1981 issue, Lawrence Taylor is coordinator of public information for the Smithsonian Institution.

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system that might change all that. His crew has rigged a number of 12-foot-square wooden rafts, floated by empty barrels and anchored to the bottom a quarter-mile off shore. From each raft hang a number of polypropylene ropes. To these ropes small mussels, called spats, attach (p. 108). Suspended in the water where these filter feeders can reach the algal soup at all times, protected from predators like starfish and lobsters, the mussels grow so quickly they can be harvested and sold in a year or two at $25 to $30 a bushel. Other organizations are attempting to culture mussels on the bottom.

Biomass production at sea is another interest of Adey's. In Japan and China seaweed is an important food product. The possibility exists that seaweed could have commercial value in this country as well. Dried, it could be fed to livestock. Collected in quantity and decomposed, it could give off sufficient methane gas to be used as fuel. But so far no one has succeeded in producing a crop that is commercially viable.

Now Adey and his staff are testing a system that may produce vast quantities of algae at very low cost. Through his work with a living coral-reef exhibit he has constructed at the National Museum of Natural History, Adey has discovered that algae will grow extremely rapidly under the proper conditions: sunlight, wave action and harvest at an early age. With the support of the Bioenergy Council and Earthwatch, he has tested in the open waters of the West Indies a scheme to build platforms covered with a heavy plastic screen. Kept wet by the waves, algae grow rapidly on the screens. Adey has not only harvested the algae, but also edible crabs and snails which feed on the algae. The technique, for which he has received a patent in the name of the Smithsonian, could have other applications. If algae can be grown in large quantity for food and biomass, they can also be used to purify water discharged from sewage-disposal plants because the water itself is high in nitrogen, a crucial element for algal growth.

As a companion to the living coral reef contained in a 2,500-gallon tank at the museum, Adey has begun construction of a Maine coastal ecosystem nearby. The system will be a microcosm of Gouldsboro and other Maine bays. There will be kelp and rockweed, urchins, mussels, clams, lobsters and starfish. There also will be a tidal system, rising and falling regularly, and a mud flat with all the animals found in nature. This tank exhibit will show the public how the Maine coastal ecosystem functions, and at the same time will be a research tool to help scientists understand the complex wild system.

But for the moment, aboard the *Marsys Resolute* at the end of a long day, Adey relaxes in his pilot house as a brilliant Maine sunset glows over the bay. "One way or another," he says, "the ocean is the key to life on Earth, and as our power to affect it grows, we must understand it better and use it in more sensitive and creative ways—or else our own excesses will come to haunt us."

Only one percent of our food comes from the sea, he points out, while millions go to bed hungry. We must learn to farm the sea, he believes, just as we learned to farm the land thousands of years ago, becoming civilized in the process. Whether this nation will lead the way remains to be seen.

Adey and Robichaux work a mud sample into a plastic bag. Later its chlorophyll content will be measured.

A ubiquitous sculpin lurks among the rocks, waiting for prey. It is sometimes used to bait lobster traps.

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Elias Ashmole, man of many parts, father of Oxford museum, holds his *History of the Order of the Garter.*

By Michael Olmert

At the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam, a special *frisson*

Two of Great Britain's most eclectic collectors had a mania for miscellany; the museums they founded continue to thrill visitors today

One of the Ashmolean's great treasures, statuette of Venus and Cupid, was carved of ivory by Georg Petel.

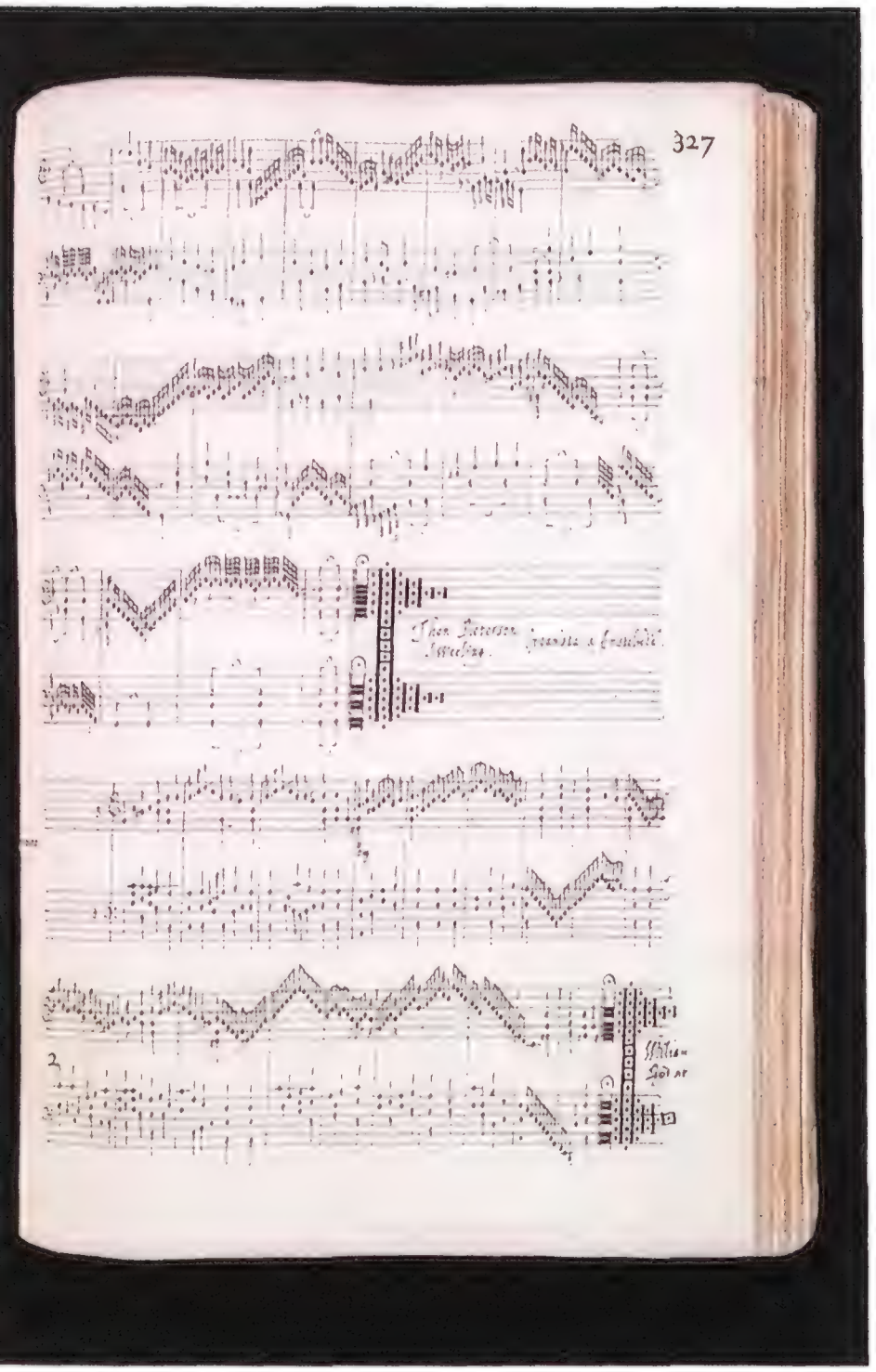
Future Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion poses stylishly as student at Cambridge, the home of his museum.

Long before Arthur Balfour became Britain's Prime Minister in 1902, he spent his formative years at Trinity College, Cambridge. There, he would later recall, the following little epiphany occurred upon his arrival in 1866, the lad's 18th year: "The station fly which first conveyed me to Trinity . . . took the road . . . which passed the Fitzwilliam Museum. It is a fine building, though in a style by no means characteristic of University architecture. But for some odd reason I felt that it was the symbolic gateway into a new life: I was greatly moved and never pass it now without recalling something of the inexplicable thrill."

The Fitzwilliam is still generating inexplicable thrills among young people at Cambridge these days, and its counterpart at Oxford, the Ashmolean, is doing likewise. These are, after all, two of the world's great university museums (p. 122); as such, they have long held out the offer of a special *frisson* to students and faculty alike—so long, in fact, that the Ashmolean, the oldest public museum in England, is now celebrating its tercentenary and the Fitzwilliam is coming to the end of its 167th year.

Brilliantly decorated mummy case of powerful priest from Thebes adds luster to Fitzwilliam collection.

Britain's two great university museums



Manuscript from precious Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, a collection of 16th- and early-17th-century music.

Museums are educational by definition, of course, but college and university museums have a special role to play in this regard and few are more devoted to teaching and research than the Fitzwilliam and the Ashmolean. A major impulse behind nearly all of their eclectic collections—of paintings and drawings, ritualistic and historical artifacts, pots and coins, books and jewelry, weapons and manuscripts—is to provide a dynamic context for serious scholarship. In each museum, students can often be observed encountering various treasures with pens and pads in their hands, diligently scribbling away. Several archaeology students may be clustered around a display of antiquities uncovered by the great 19th-century Egyptologists. In another room, history students may be studying coins or the scenes painted on Greek vases, or deciphering row upon row of ancient marble inscriptions.

These young people constitute a primary audience for the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam, but they are by no means the only one, for both institutions serve town as well as gown. Groups of local residents, shoppers taking a lunch break, and schoolchildren file through the halls, stopping here and there for delight and intellectual nourishment. Increasingly, tourists from America are making sure that these museums are on their itineraries.

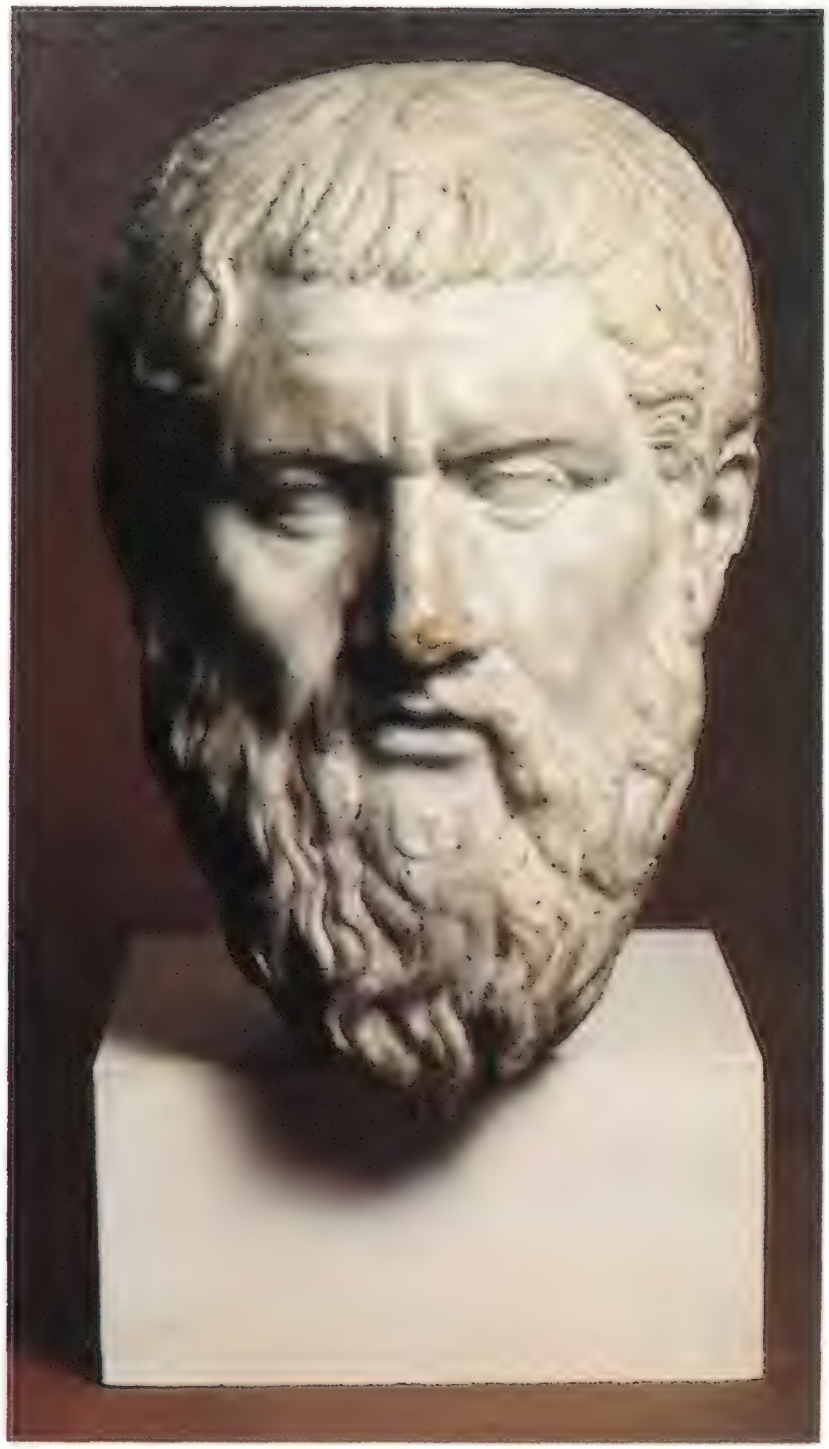
No pandering on the premises, please

Visitors hoping to be impressed by elegance are seldom disappointed, but there is no pandering to the audience here. The displays are presented without fanfare and elaborate explanations. In atmosphere, both the Ashmolean and the Fitzwilliam epitomize the quintessentially British qualities of restraint and relaxed self-confidence.

Oxford's Ashmolean began as a kind of carnival-show monument to the 17th-century mania for collecting rarities. In this case, the collector was John Tradescant, a Suffolk botanist, world traveler and celebrated gardener, whom Charles I appointed "Keeper of His Majesty's Gardens, Vines and Silkworms" in about 1630. On his many trips to the Continent, the Mediterranean and even the Arctic to pick up exotic cuttings and seeds for his patrons, he was exceedingly alert to the curious, the improbable and the weird.

Consider but a few of Tradescant's holdings, seen by an eyewitness in 1638: "the hand of a mummy . . . a picture wrought in feathers . . . an elk's hoof with three claws . . . a human bone weighing 42 pounds . . . poisoned arrows such as are used by the executioners in the West Indies . . . the robe of the king of Virginia . . . a hat band of snake bones." These collections were added to by Tradescant's son, also named John, who had some rights to land in the Jamestown settlement

Fitzwilliam's mummy portrait of Egyptian girl called Didyme: all we know about her is her name.



Plato in the Cambridge museum's marble copy of portrait by Silanion; like him, museums save ideals.

and made trips to the colony in 1637, 1642 and 1654.

Before the younger Tradescant died in 1662, he had deeded the collection over to a man named Elias Ashmole (p. 114). A royal herald and scholar, Ashmole inhabited the halfway world between the Middle Ages and modern times. He was a diarist and a collector who maintained an interest in alchemy and wrote a history of England's chivalric Order of the Garter. Ashmole soon began to seek ways of giving the Tradescant cache to his alma mater, Oxford University, and to properly house it there. Work was begun on an elegant building on Broad Street.

By the time the Ashmolean Museum opened in 1683, the original Tradescant collection had been augmented by some new acquisitions. Among these curiosities was the world's first acknowledged fake Egyptian grave figure, or shawabti. That forgery has remained a favorite artifact of irreverent undergraduates throughout the centuries. In much the same frame of mind, the acerbic 19th-century Oxonian Hilaire Belloc reacted to Ashmole's extinct dodo bird —which by then had been transferred to the University Museum of Natural History—as follows:

> The voice which used to squawk and squeak
> Is now forever dumb—
> Yet may you see his bones and
> All in the Mu-se-um.

In 1894, the Tradescant "Ark," as the original collection was called, along with the considerable archaeological, coin and fine-arts collections that had been added since the days of Ashmole, were consolidated in their present home, a fine classical pile in the Greek Revival manner, two blocks away in Beaumont Street.

In a valiant but not altogether successful attempt

Michael Olmert wrote about Winterthur Museum in May and contributes the column, "Points of Origin."

Michelangelo studies for Sistine Ceiling and Tomb of Julius II are in Ashmolean's prints, drawings room.

to impose some order on the Ashmolean's vast holdings, it has been organized into several departments, including antiquities, Western art, Eastern art and the Heberden Coin Room. The range of each of these divisions is far greater than the mind can encompass.

The Ashmolean Print Room has an international reputation, due in no small part to a set of more than 110 master drawings by Michelangelo (above) and Raphael. Museum director Sir David Piper fondly recalls the day that sculptor Henry Moore came to view the Michelangelos. "He *flew* through the sheets," Piper says. "It was like a dialogue between the two artists across a span of 400 years."

The Combe collection of Pre-Raphaelite art is one of the most popular attractions for visitors these days. For a time—say, the first half of this century—critics considered the works of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood to be hopelessly sentimental. But Oxford and the Ashmolean have helped lead the way toward a resurgence of interest in the emotional draftsmanship of these artists, including John Everett Millais, Edward Burne-Jones, Holman Hunt and the English poet-painters William Morris and Dante Gabriel Rossetti.

Kenneth Garlick, the keeper, or curator, of Western art (one of his predecessors was the late Kenneth Clark), says the best-known painting in the Ashmolean's collection is Paolo Uccello's *A Hunt in the Forest* (c. 1465), a grand scene full of beaters, horsemen, grooms and hounds, all frozen in their tracks. The Italian forest itself is so neat and orderly that it appears to have been sent up from Central Casting in response to a call for a verdant example of civic humanism. God's in his heaven and certainly all's right with this world.

Bizarre beasts with human faces

Another great Renaissance oil at the Ashmolean is of a piece with the Uccello. It is Piero di Cosimo's *A Forest Fire* (c. 1500), which introduces an element of dismay into what otherwise could be taken for another Peaceable Kingdom (pp. 124-25). Smoke wafting along the horizon is said to signify the threat from the approach of Man and the technology he brings with him. But the careful viewer will also discern that some of the beasts are sporting human faces. The implication is clear: what Man visits on his environment, he also brings down on his own head.

The Ashmolean is filled with plenty of less forbidding works. The museum's ivory statuette of *Venus and Cupid* (p. 114), for example, was carved by Georg Petel and is said to have been owned by Rubens. It alone is worth the trip. So, for that matter, are the playful caricatures by Max Beerbohm (p. 120), who was an undergraduate at Merton College. His droll sketches were bent on deflating the overblown reputations of such notables as G. K. Chesterton, Oscar Wilde and poet Robert Browning.

The Heberden Coin Room, with its 200,000 pieces from antiquity, gives visitors the awesome opportunity to see the denarius of Brutus (p. 120), a silver coin struck around 42 B.C., soon after the assassination of Julius Caesar. It displays a profile of Brutus on one side and two ominous daggers on the other, together with this inscription: *EID. MAR.* ("The Ides of March"). That one coin is enough to demonstrate the considerable value that numismatics holds for the teaching of classics, history and archaeology.

There are three undeniably great names intimately associated with the antiquities at the Ashmolean: Evans, Petrie and Beazley. Foremost is that of Evans, an almost dynastic name in the field of archaeology. Sir John Evans, who died in 1908, was an originator

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of the scientific study of European prehistory. His son, Sir Arthur Evans, was educated at Oxford, excavated Minoan ruins on Crete and was a curator of the Ashmolean between 1884 and 1908. The two Evans rooms are chock-a-block with prehistoric implements, Cretan pottery and seal stones, and Mycenaean and Cycladic antiquities. The Evans family had acquired a considerable fortune in the paper business, a fact that enabled Sir Arthur to buy the freehold of a site at Knossos on Crete, a place which he thought likely for prospecting. Excavation of that site turned up the Bronze Age remains of a previously unknown civilization, which Evans named "Minoan" after a fabled Cretan king.

The Egyptian collection of the Ashmolean is associated with the 19th- and 20th-century excavations of Sir Flinders Petrie, a man who was responsible for many of the field techniques that modern archaeology has come to take for granted. This collection is remarkably broad, covering the Protodynastic period to the Coptic period, and is especially thorough in its row after row of authentic shawabtis. Sir John Beazley, Oxford's Lincoln Professor of Classical Archaeology and Art, also has his own display room in the Ashmolean. Beazley, who died in 1970, was the world's foremost scholar of ancient Greek vases, a principal source of early Western art; the Ashmolean is one of the world's great centers for the study of such pottery. The Beazley Room presents the visitor with an enticing parade of vases in chronological order.

Perhaps the most intriguing single item in the entire museum is the dazzling and rare Alfred Jewel (below)

Pearlike travesty of writer G. K. Chesterton is one of Oxford museum's many Max Beerbohm caricatures.

Brutus is on Roman coin struck soon after Caesar's assassination.

Bewitching ninth-century jewel is inscribed: "Alfred had me made."

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from the ninth century. It appears to belong to a kind of pointer, wrought of gold with a cloisonné picture of St. Cuthbert, or possibly King Alfred, in the center. The Anglo-Saxon inscription reads, *Aelfred mec heht gewyrcan*, or "Alfred had me made." The object may have been used by readers to follow the lines of an illuminated manuscript without soiling the pages.

The story of the Cambridge University museum, the Fitzwilliam, is largely a tale of two men: its founder, Viscount Fitzwilliam, and its fifth director, Sir Sydney Cockerell, one of the most dynamic and successful museum heads of all time.

Richard, seventh Viscount Fitzwilliam of Merrion (near Dublin), was a man who spent a lifetime collecting books, music and fine art (p. 115). He had taken his M.A. at Cambridge in 1764, and on his death in 1816 left his art hoard and library, along with £90,000, to provide "a good substantial and convenient Museum, Repository, or other Building." In 1837 the building was begun under the direction of architect George Basevi, who unfortunately died in 1845 before the interior could be completed. Coincidentally, the work was finished under Charles Robert Cockerell (no relation to Sir Sydney), the architect who had designed the new Ashmolean building. It is no surprise, therefore, that both the Ashmolean and Fitzwilliam are among the last public buildings put up in England along classical rather than Gothic principles.

At Fitzwilliam's death, the bulk of his collecting had been in four areas: books, illuminated manuscripts, paintings and prints, and music. His library is one of few from the late 18th century that remain intact; a special room in the museum, designed as a replica of a gentleman's library of the period, houses it. Following the practice of Fitzwilliam's day, the smallest volumes rest on the highest shelves and the folios are placed on the lowest. Even by the 18th century's fussy standards, Fitzwilliam, who began collecting at the age of seven, was unusually particular about the care of his books. In marked contrast to the gaudy bindings considered fashionable at the time, his books were bound in stark simplicity. Fitzwilliam also refused to have the margins of his books cropped, a common practice which enabled binders to plane and then gild the edges.

Fitzwilliam's interest in music was deep and abid-

The Ashmolean, a brilliant example of harmonious Greek Revival style, was designed by C. R. Cockerell.

The same Cockerell helped finish the equally classical Fitzwilliam after its architect, George Basevi, died.

ing. He helped organize the great Handel Commemoration held in Westminster Abbey in 1784, and he was also a director of the London Concerts of Ancient Music from 1786 to 1806. Rare manuscripts, many of them autographed, came into his possession by the hundreds. Handel, Purcell, Scarlatti, Antonio Soler and Rameau are among the composers represented in the collection. But perhaps the most famous musical treasure of all is the so-called Fitzwilliam Virginal Book (p. 116), the most important contemporary collection of 16th- and early 17th-century English keyboard music in existence. It was compiled by one Francis Tregian, who spent the last ten years of his life in Fleet Prison and died there in 1619.

Viscount Fitzwilliam also left the collection some 130 illuminated manuscripts, including 97 Books of Hours, clearly one of the greatest such collections in its day, and today exceeded in quality only by those at the British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford. Since Fitzwilliam's original bequest in 1816, the museum has acquired many additional rarities, including a late 13th-century psalter filled with the most marvelously detailed paintings of fowl, and *Civis Bononiae* (Good Fellowship), an Italian manuscript, also late 13th century, that gives instruction on playing chess, tables (a predecessor of backgammon) and other games.

About Sir Sydney Cockerell, director of the museum from 1908 to 1937, it is difficult to say enough. To begin with, he scrounged, bullied and begged his way to countless bequests that immeasurably enriched the holdings of the museum. So single-minded was he in his pursuit of funds and objects that his acquisitive powers became legendary. "There is no collector in the world," said the chancellor of Cambridge University as Cockerell approached his retirement, "who feels his treasures safe so long as Sir Sydney is in the land." One exasperated benefactor wrote Cockerell that people gave to the museum "because of their admiration for your devotion to it, and to shut up your damned mouth in asking for more."

Cockerell's way: quality, not quantity

Cockerell maintained wide contacts within the world of art and he was a great friend of John Ruskin, William Morris and George Bernard Shaw. But, most important of all, the Fitzwilliam profited from Cockerell's exquisite taste, boundless energy and commonsense instincts. He dressed up the museum like a grand country mansion. Gone were the days when every inch of wall space had to be filled with paintings, indifferent works and great works hung side-by-side, as if the galleries were in an auction house. Instead of roping off the exhibits from the curious reach of visitors, he

In the Ashmolean's Cast Gallery, visitors encounter imposing plaster copies of famous friezes and statues.

Although the Fitzwilliam opened in 1848, its stunning entrance hall was not completed until the mid-1870s.

hit on the homey idea of placing period furniture along the walls. Cockerell had been an intimate in many of the great residences of his day and he longed to have his museum as tastefully and sensibly arranged as they were, with warm wall fabrics of red or gold silk and a sense of civilized grandeur. The same instincts were also applied to exhibit cases for antiquities. The idea was not to stupefy the viewer with quantity, but to present a manageable and clear display. Recognizing a good thing when they saw it, museum directors the world over rearranged their own cluttered institutions in accordance with Cockerell's orderly but informal revolution at the Fitzwilliam.

Bold and sensuous . . . bright and harmonious

The museum today holds much of the same charm that it did in Cockerell's time. The paintings are remarkably wide-ranging, capped gloriously by a masterpiece of Venetian High Renaissance painting, Titian's bold and sensuous *Tarquin and Lucretia,* finished when the master was very old. Other favorites include Domenico Veneziano's *Annunciation* (c. 1445), which opens a bright window on the idealized, harmonious world of 15th-century Florentine painting (right). The view through the balanced composition into the adjoining courtyard reflects the artist's own fascination with linear perspective.

The antiquities collection is filled with unique items. Among others, there is a touching second-century A.D. portrait of a young girl (p. 117). Scholars ordinarily use hairstyles as a key to dating such portraits, but there is a complication here. The child wore her hair uncharacteristically short and the painter removed any ornate necklace and jewelry she wore. All we know is the child's name, Didyme, and her age, seven, and what she looked like.

The curious visitor wandering through the Fitzwilliam should not fail to look for the following: William Morris' *Kelmscott Chaucer,* one of the great private-press books printed in England; autographed manuscripts of Blake, Keats and Tennyson; Beethoven's pocket watch; the brilliantly decorated mummy case of Nekhtefmut (p. 115), a priest of Thebes at about 900 B.C.; and finally, a Roman marble copy of Silanion's bronze portrait of the philosopher Plato (p. 117). In fact, if there is one spirit that pervades these halls—both in the Fitzwilliam and in the Ashmolean—it must be that of Plato himself. He is the genius loci of these cabinets, these displays, these shelves. A central idea of philosophy has been and always will be to seek out ideals and save them for the future. Both museums are fulfilling that charge admirably, for within their extraordinary collections are imprisoned Man's real thoughts about himself and his course on Earth.

In the Ashmolean's disquieting *Forest Fire,* Florentine artist Piero di Cosimo depicts bizarre world in chaos.

Fitzwilliam's *Annunciation* by Domenico Veneziano communicates more symmetrical, harmonious view.

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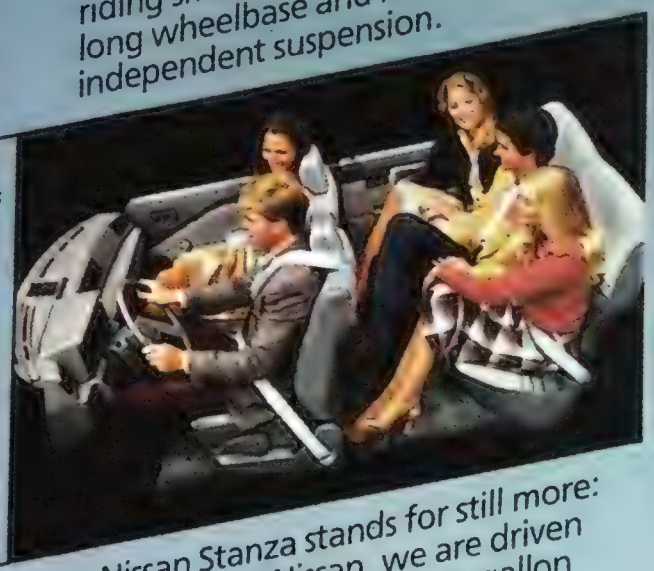

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Berg sits at tracking microscope; slide is moved with joystick until detector locks onto bacterium.

By Leo Janos

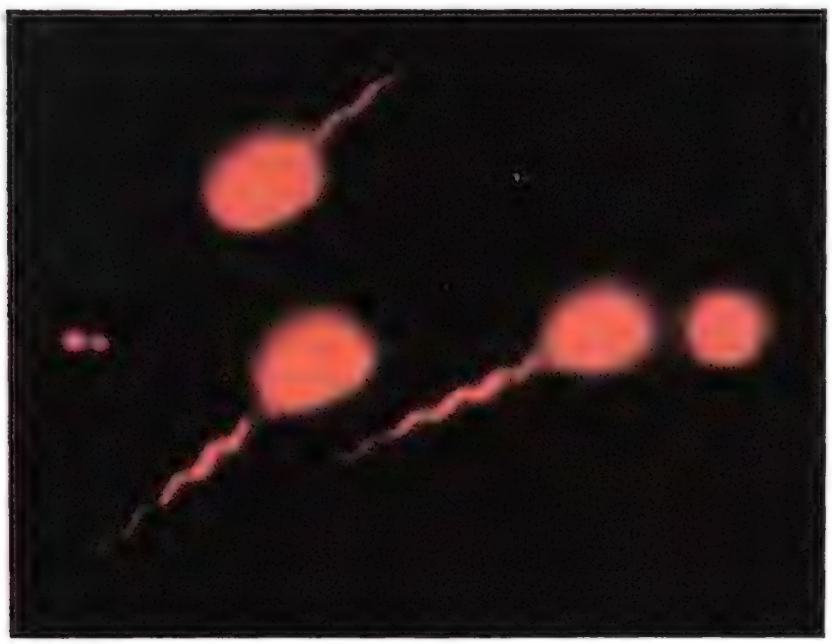
Bacteria's motors work in forward, reverse and 'twiddle'

Some varieties of this ancient life form move by a kind of rotary engine that was nature's invention long before Man's

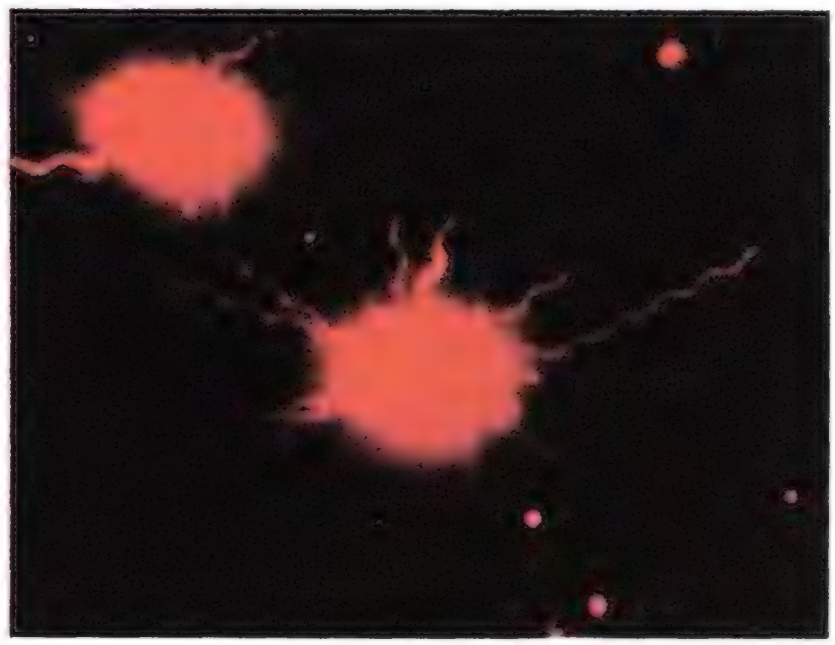
A Caltech biologist named Howard Berg was invited recently to give a lecture at a physics colloquium on the Pasadena campus. Berg is an expert on bacterial behavior, particularly on how they swim. His amazing discovery is that bacteria use rotary engines to propel themselves, twirling their hairlike flagella counterclockwise as a propeller for locomotion and attaining speeds equivalent to 30 miles an hour. "Rotary Motion in Nature" was the title of Berg's talk, which was suddenly interrupted by a student questioner.

"Is there any example of rotary motion in higher organisms?" Berg was asked. Before he could reply, the

Salmonella cells are propelled by the bundles, with strands rotating as one in screwlike motion.



Cells' motors reverse, bundles separate into strands and cell bodies tumble, about once every second.



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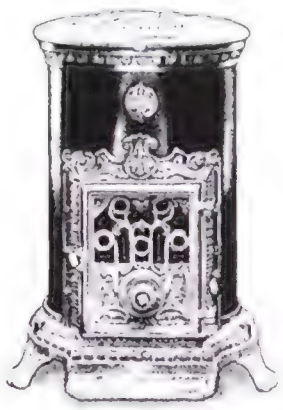

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door to the crowded lecture hall opened to the roll of drums and the dumbfounded biologist found himself face to face with a scantily-clad young woman who was shamelessly gyrating the flagellalike tassels on her chest in an expert imitation of an *Escherichia coli* in a frenzied hurry. "Now, *that's* rotary motion," a physicist exclaimed.

"The integration of the prank into the seminar was so good," reported Caltech's student paper the next day, "that many physicists thought that Berg had deliberately planned it, but his beet-red countenance quickly betrayed his bewilderment." The show had been staged by a couple of graduate students.

Howard Berg is a somewhat rumpled, thick-boned and blue-eyed biology professor in his mid-forties. He is well-known, at such centers of bacteriological research as Stanford, Harvard and the University of Wisconsin, as the scientist who has proved that bacteria swim by means of true rotary engines. This discovery was based on evidence that came from other researchers' published findings, but which they had misinterpreted or simply missed. Perhaps the nature of bacterial motion escaped notice for so long because the implications of Berg's discovery are so unsettling. Scientists have long considered bacteria as the simplest of living organisms, but Berg's research makes them seem far more complex.

He is also credited with inventing the world's first tracking microscope (p. 127), providing him with the most prolonged and revealing studies of the motion of these tiny one-cell organisms since the Dutch scientist, Anton van Leeuwenhoek, first glimpsed bacteria through a single-lens microscope in 1674. "The idea," Berg said, "was to devise a microscope that would operate similarly to a tracking

Leo Janos' book, Crime of Passion, *was published in July. He is a free-lance writer based in California.*

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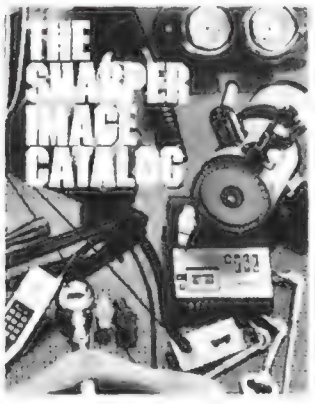

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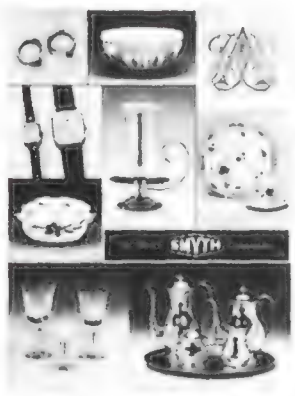

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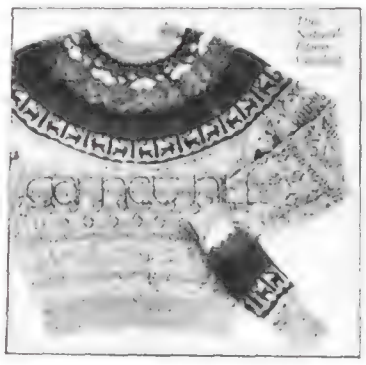

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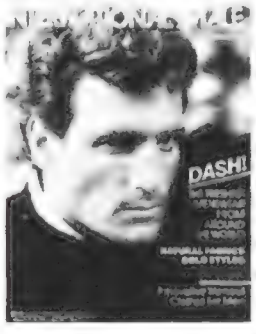

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At base of a flagellum, rings may be a motor, or just a universal joint.

telescope, which can single out an individual star and stay with it as it moves across the heavens." Normally, a free-swimming bacterium zips in and out of focus in a fraction of a second, but with Berg's tracking microscope, its image is now firmly fixed.

The device consists of a small windowed chamber in which the bacteria move freely. The viewing image is split into three parts to provide a three-dimensional view and fed into three pairs of optical fibers. An electronic monitoring system continually adjusts the position of the windowed chamber as the bacteria propel themselves at speeds of some 20 cell diameters a second. Berg's microscope has enabled him to observe a particular cell over prolonged periods as it careens through the three dimensions of its microscopic world, providing fresh insights not only on locomotion, but on bacterial behavior.

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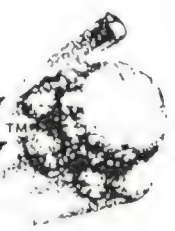

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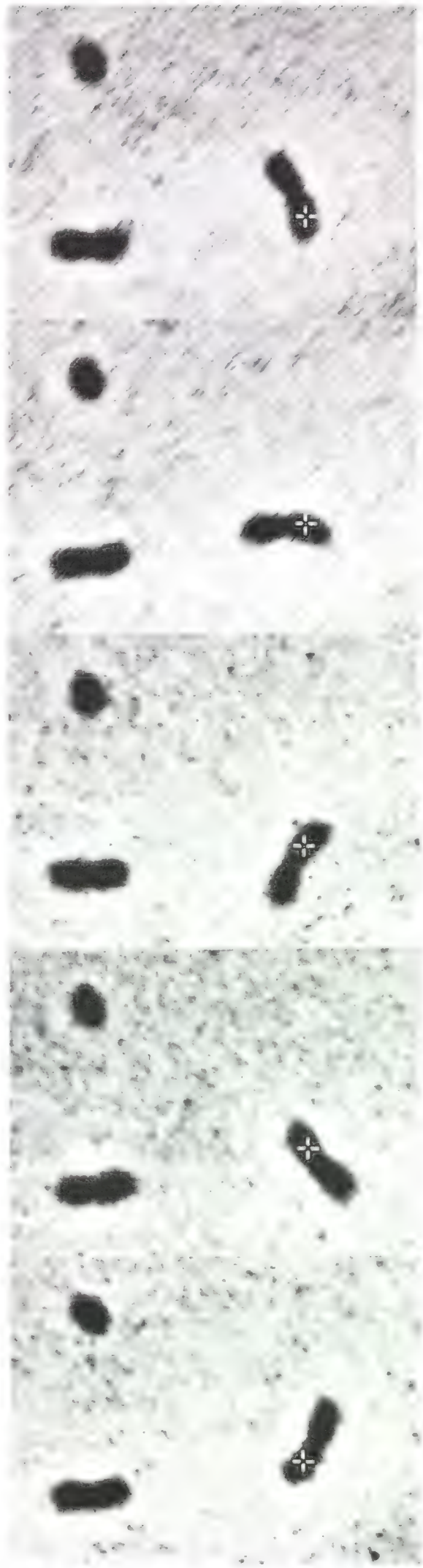
first living organisms produced in the primordial broth when Earth was formed, and have evolved into highly complex and efficient species of extraordinary variety. One newly-discovered type, for example, was unearthed in the cold wet mud of a New England bog—magnetic bacteria that possess internalized compass needles which they use to align themselves with the Earth's magnetic poles.

Berg is also studying a mysterious genus called *Cytophaga* that is able to glide along surfaces with no apparent organs of locomotion, but appears to possess some form of tractor treads. "For a researcher," says Berg, "any process understood in simple organisms usually turns out to be relevant in more complex organisms. Nature tends to build on its early successes. If bacterial locomotion were completely understood, we would probably learn how to prevent certain infections. That's a fairly safe assumption. Meanwhile, we are finding that these so-called 'simple' single-celled creatures are more talented than we ever imagined."

Berg has focused most of his studies on a particular bacterium called *Escherichia coli,* which is found in abundance in the human intestine, helping to complete the digestive process. *E. coli* (p. 128) is a sausage-shaped cell, about a micrometer (a thousandth of a millimeter) in diameter and two micrometers long, with about six flagella, threadlike members distributed around its body; under a conventional microscope, their motion causes the cell to swim out of focus in a fraction of a second. Before Berg invented his tracking device, researchers attempted to "trap" the organism by confining it between a slide and a cover slip, but quickly discovered that it sticks to the glass or swims in circles, something it does not otherwise do.

So Berg was able to make the first intensive and prolonged observations of the behavior of individual cells in the 1970s. He found that a cell "runs"



An *E. coli*, right, tethered to glass slide by its flagellum, rotates counterclockwise (from top). Cell at left is stuck beneath cover slip.

or swims steadily along a gently curved path, then "twiddles," or stops and tumbles about. Then it runs again in another direction. A twiddle is a random event, likely to occur with no apparent rhyme or reason. Twiddles were observed to occur about once a second, lasting about a tenth of a second.

E. coli and other bacteria like *Salmonella* (p. 127) run by bundling their flagella together in a rotary screwlike motion, so that the bundle acts as a propeller. When the organism's rotary motors slam into reverse, the bundle flies apart and the cell twiddles about in an apparent tumbling motion. Then, the motors reverse again and the bundle reforms, moving the cell forward in a new direction.

When a chemical known to attract *E. coli* was added to the tracking chamber, Berg discovered that the cells swam toward it with a marked decrease in the number of twiddles. "This finding," Berg said, "was surprising because earlier work by other researchers implied that bacteria respond only when conditions become less favorable." He added: "The only reason that bacteria swim is to get somewhere where life is better. They have 'taste buds' that measure how many palatable things are coming at them—and if that number is increasing, they continue in the same direction. For a tiny organism, they are sophisticated: they can monitor and measure their environment, make accurate judgments about whether life is getting better or worse, and then do something about it. Apparently they move according to what they sense. As far as we can tell, it's all instinctive behavior."

Berg joined the Caltech faculty four years ago, after nearly ten years of research into bacterial locomotion, first at Harvard and then at the University of Colorado in Boulder, where he announced his discovery based on a synthesis of observations available in the scientific literature, that swim-

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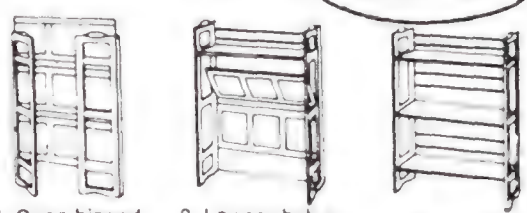

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Fungus *Phycomyces*, supporting spore ball, has a chemical radar system.

ming bacteria are propelled by internal rotary engines (p. 130). The announcement was greeted with skepticism in some quarters (particularly in Great Britain), mostly because the notion of a rotary engine propelling an organism seemed somehow unbiological. "But it was terrifically exciting," Berg grins, "because it meant that nature had, in effect, invented the wheel. Those tiny flagella had to be attached to the cell by some sort of rotary joint and drive shaft."

Despite the initial doubts by some colleagues, demonstrations of flagellar rotation soon devised by others were visually overwhelming. At Berg's Caltech lab are videotapes of hundreds of *E. coli* cells tethered, each by a single flagellum, to glass slides. In this case, the tethered flagellum is no longer free to rotate and the cell body rotates instead, twirling several revolutions per second (p. 132). The rotation alternates between clockwise and counterclockwise and resembles the inner workings of a Swiss watch. A counterclockwise twirl indicates the cell is in the run mode. A clockwise twirl signals that it is in the tumble mode.

By analyzing videotapes showing hundreds of tethered bacteria, Berg and his colleagues are evolving new insights on behavior, the mechanics of directional control, the nature of the bacterial engine, and the sources of its motive power. Some of the work involves use of mutant cells defective in one or more component parts. "Imagine that you've never before seen an automobile," says Berg. "You can take off the left front wheel and see what happens, or tinker with the wiring to learn its function." Other work involves the use of cells with defective energy systems. "By using de-energized cells, for example, we found that we could drive the rotary engines simply by changing the acidity of the external medium. The bacterial motor is powered by a proton battery, and we have learned a great deal by artificially manipulating its electrical potential."

To study bacteria is to investigate one of the simplest models in nature. White blood cells in the human body, for example, which like to seek out and eat bacteria, are much more complex. Yet Berg and other bacterium investigators have discovered that these supposedly "simple" creatures on the lowest rung of the evolutionary scale are, in fact, remarkably complicated enigmas.

These researchers realize that they know very little, as yet, about the nature of the mechanisms that they call the motor and gearshift, and how these systems control the rotation of the cell in a clockwise or counterclockwise direction. Nor do they know much about the nature of the signal from the bacterium's sense receptors, alerting it to a change in its environment. They would like to know more about how bacteria "decide" between responding to several different stimuli, which may be in conflict. So far, the bacterial version of a nervous system that links detection of a stimulus with a response also remains a mystery.

Berg is also studying another mysterious organism, a strange fungus called *Phycomyces* (at left). The tiny spore-bearing stalks that these organisms thrust upward can somehow sense physical barriers and grow away from them before touching them. Berg and his colleagues at Caltech have constructed a special chamber for fungus growing that precisely controls the environment and have begun experiments to test their theory that *Phycomyces* possesses a chemical radar system for detection of barriers. The system emits a gas, they theorize, and later detects this gas when it returns from the barrier in an altered form (below).

"Curiosity is the driving force in this kind of work," says Berg. Reflecting on that incident when the exotic dancer interrupted his lecture, he concluded that the prank was a crude but not inappropriate metaphor for bacterial research over the past decade. "These little bugs have shown us almost everything they've got," he remarked, "although there are still a few tantalizing secrets that they are keeping to themselves."

Phycomyces hypha (stem) grows away from barrier in this time-lapse shot.

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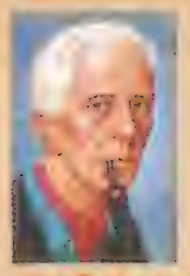

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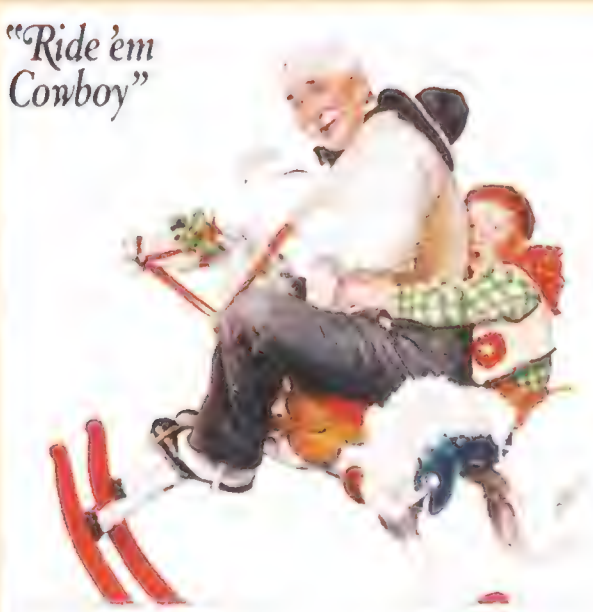

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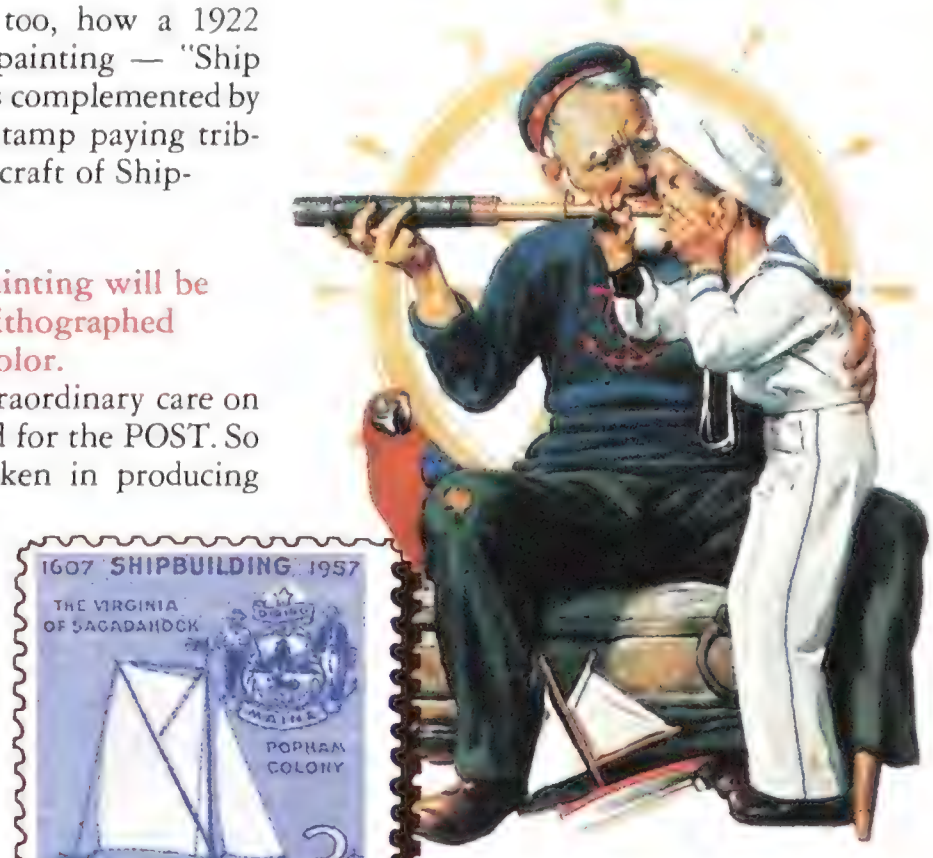

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By Peggy Thomson

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Thomas Jefferson, celebrated freethinker and archapostle of American liberty, took a dim view of organized religions, including Christianity. Even in the Age of Reason, when many men had come to regard God as a watchmaker who wound up the world once upon a time and then let it run, his notions bordered on the scandalous.

In the 1800 Presidential race, for instance, the clergy and the Federalist party could openly campaign against the Sage of Monticello as an unbeliever, an atheist and a man unfit to lead a Christian nation. If he won, they freely predicted, Bibles would have to be hidden in wells to protect them from anticlerical government agents.

Political overkill, to be sure. But on the eve of the election, which he barely managed to win, Jefferson

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American Philosophical Society

As an ex-President, Jefferson had more time to study his Biblical texts.

addressed the matter in a letter to his old friend Benjamin Rush. Noting that certain American churches believed his victory would threaten "abortion to their hopes" of becoming the nation's established church, he added, ". . . they believe rightly: for I have sworn on the altar of God, eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man."

Yet this most anticlerical of Presidents, this 18th-century savant who looked on any form of supernaturalism as an offense against the mind of Man and the laws of nature, twice trimmed the Bible to his taste. And in his declining years, he took to reading the (suitably expurgated) Jefferson edition every night before bed.

In his editing, the President resorted to scissors and paste. He compared Greek, Latin and French Bibles with the King James version, looking for accuracy. But what he really wanted to leave on the cutting-room floor was anything, he felt, that contravened the laws of nature. Miracles and mysteries, like the doctrine of the Trinity and Transubstantiation

Peggy Thomson is the author of Museum People, *a book about the Smithsonian Institution.*

—all of it—he regarded as ecclesiastical "rubbish" added by clergy over the centuries to make religion so confusing that it would "require priesthood to explain."

Churchmen, he wrote, had "compounded from the heathen mysteries a system beyond the comprehension of man," so that Jesus, "were he to return to earth, would not recognize one feature." What Jefferson sought were the "mild and simple principles of the Christian philosophy." For if he regarded organized Christianity as a "conspiracy of church and state against the civil and religious liberties of mankind," he regarded Jesus as the world's "most innocent, the most benevolent, the most eloquent and sublime character" who lived, and taught "fragments of the most sublime edifice of morality which had ever been exhibited to man."

Jefferson snipped and pasted in total confidence. To his mind the Testaments were human, not divine. The real words of Jesus—those with the "stamp of [his] eloquence and fine imagination . . ."—Jefferson felt, were obvious to the discerning eye. "As easily distinguishable," he insisted, "as diamonds in a dunghill."

The first scissoring, done about 1804, resulted in a slender, 46-page volume entitled *The Philosophy of Jesus of Nazareth*. Jefferson gave it a curious subtitle, referring to the text enigmatically as "an abridgement of the New Testament for the use of the Indians unembarrassed with matters of fact or faith beyond the level of their comprehensions."

It was confined to moral teachings, organized by topic. "Too hastily done," though, was Jefferson's later judgment upon it. The job had been completed in "one or two evenings only, while I lived at Washington overwhelmed with other business." ("Other business" was a typically Jeffersonian way of understating the responsibilities of a beleaguered President of the young United States.)

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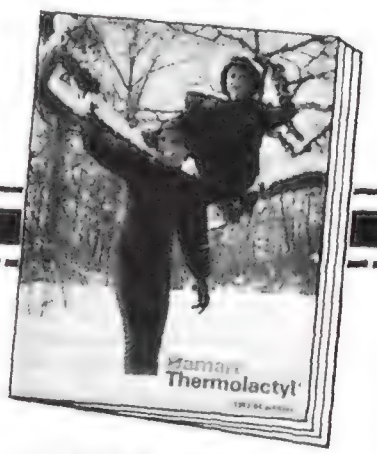

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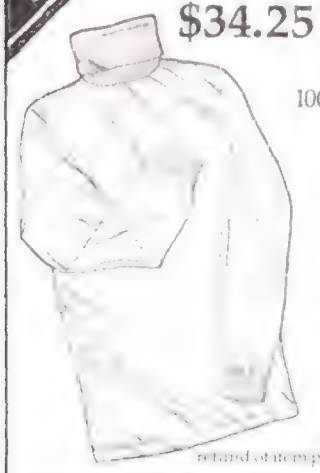

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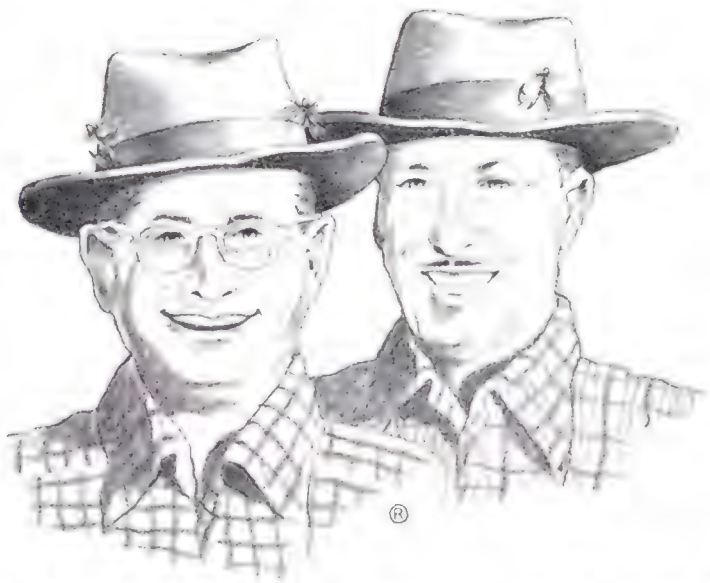

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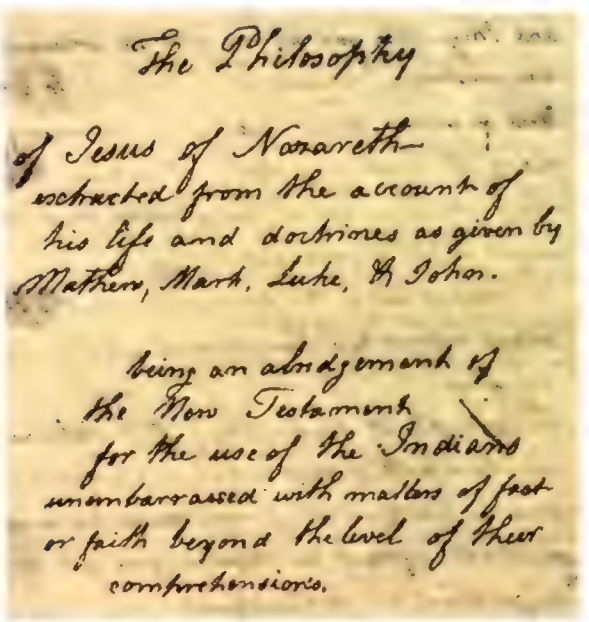
It was only when he had retired to Monticello and had more time that the ex-President produced a second Jefferson "Bible," this one called *The Life and Morals of Jesus of Nazareth*. Though severely shorn of supernaturalism (there was no walking on water or raising from the dead), this volume was nearly twice as long as the first, for it contained not only the teachings, but many of the earthly acts of Jesus, organized in a more or less chronological way.

The first Bible was lost. The second, which Jefferson finished probably in the summer of 1820, was bound in red morocco leather, and was kept in his library at Monticello. On his death it went to his daughter Martha. Eventually it got into the hands of various relatives. It was not until 1886 that Dr. Cyrus Adler, soon to become chief librarian of the Smithsonian Institution, found the two Bibles which Jefferson had cut up to make his own in the library of a Baltimore doctor. Thus reminded that he might be able to acquire the Jefferson Bible, he pursued the matter by approaching Jefferson's great-granddaughter, Sarah Randolph. Once acquired, the book was lent to the Cotton States and International Exposition in Atlanta in 1895. During the next few years it stirred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Cyrus Adler, Smithsonian's chief librarian, acquired the Bible in 1895.

enough interest to result in a special printing of 9,000 facsimile copies—for the edification of members of Congress and their friends.

This was not so far from Jefferson's intention. A new edition of Jefferson's Bibles is just out. Done by Princeton University Press and the late Dickinson Adams, the book offers an annotated version of *The Life and Morals of Jesus*, as well as a reconstruction of the lost Biblical text. The editors explain that Jefferson's reference to "use by the Indians" did not mean Indians at all. It was a code word for Jefferson's Federalist enemies, who sought strong central government with a savagery so sharp that Jefferson feared it might divide the young Republic.

Jefferson had been brought up an Anglican, but had almost totally rejected formal religion during a youthful crisis. Thereafter he rarely discussed it even with his family, for fear, he said, of unduly influencing them. He put his basic attitude in a letter written to a nephew in 1787: "Fix reason firmly in her seat . . ." he said. "Question with boldness even the existence of a God, because, if there is one, he must more approve the homage of reason, than that of blind-folded fear."

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But in the late 1790s, when he was in his fifties, Jefferson struck up a correspondence with Dr. Joseph Priestley, the British chemist who discovered oxygen. Priestley was also a Unitarian minister, and through his influence Jefferson began again to consider himself a Christian—persuaded now that the doctrines of the Trinity and original sin, which offended his reason, were corruptions of the religion. Oddly enough, according to Eugene R. Sheridan, associate editor of the Princeton edition, at the very time that attacks on him as an atheist were increasing, Jefferson was quietly shifting toward a more sympathetic view of Christianity. Fearful for the survival of the Republic, he thought religion might promote the social harmony needed to save it—religion, of course, properly demythologized by himself.

He asked Priestley, whose pamphlet comparing Socrates and Jesus had pleased him, to take on the task of writing the tenets of such a faith. Priestley declined on grounds of ill health. In 1803, when religious criticism of himself was at its sharpest, the President set out in another letter to Benjamin Rush a "Syllabus" for such a work. It was the only formal

National Portrait Gallery

Joseph Priestley, a Unitarian, inspired Jefferson's Biblical editing.

National Gallery of Art, Washington

Jesus walking on water (here painted by Tintoretto) was typical of the miraculous events that Jefferson considered as an affront to human reason.

statement he ever made on his religious beliefs.

In it he objected to Judaism because he found the wrathful deity of the Jews "degrading." But Jesus appealed to him, particularly for the universality of his benevolence. ". . . His parentage was obscure; his condition poor; his education null; his natural endowments great; his life correct and innocent: he was meek, benevolent, patient, firm, disinterested, & of the sublimest eloquence."

"I am a Christian," Jefferson declared to his friend Rush, "in the only sense in which he wished anyone to be; sincerely attached to his doctrines, in preference to all others; ascribing to him every *human* excellence, and believing he never claimed any other."

When he settled down to do *The Life and Morals of Jesus,* the aging President had to depend again on the four Gospel accounts. And for a man who had once professed to believe that newspapers are more important to democracy than government, he was extremely critical of reporters Matthew, Mark, Luke and John. He variously described them as the "most unlettered of men," and as "grovelling authors." They were, he charged, constantly led into ambiguity by reporting events too long after they occurred. Like many journalists, Jefferson insisted, they gave "their own misconceptions as his dicta," and often expressed "unintelligibly for others what they had not understood themselves."

Since one of his aims was to strip away anything supernatural, Jefferson ended the crucifixion and burial basically as told by John—but with a half-sentence from Matthew tacked on. Thus the Gospel according to Thomas Jefferson concludes: "Now in the place where he was crucified there was a garden; and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man yet laid. There laid they Jesus . . . [John 19:42] and rolled a great stone to the door of the sepulchre and departed [Matthew 28:60]."

In Matthew's text the word "he" is the subject of "rolled a great stone," referring to the rich man, Joseph, who laid the body in his own tomb. But Jefferson crossed it out. He did away with all that followed the entombment—the presence of angels,

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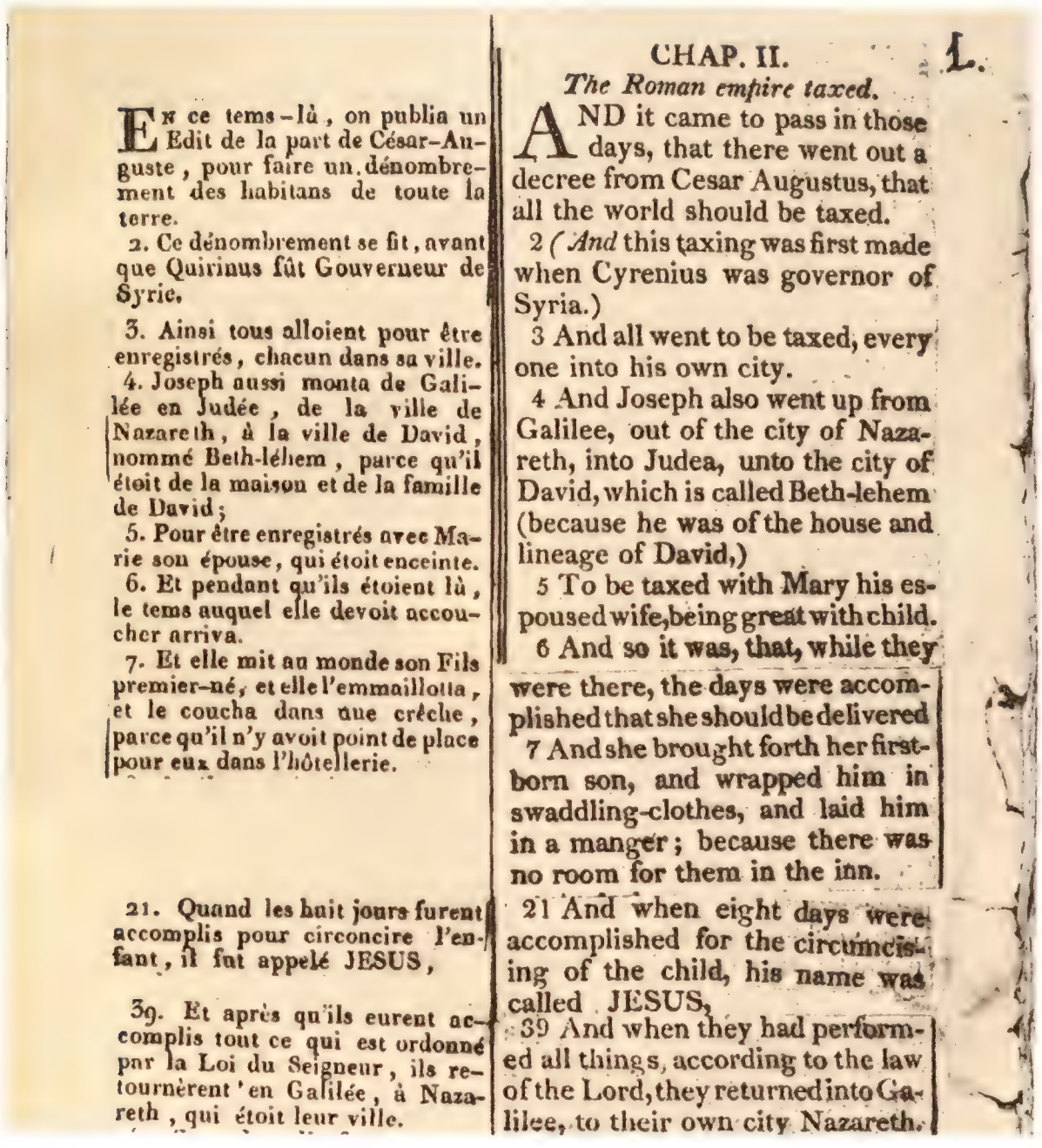
the appearance of Jesus to Mary Magdalene, and the ascent into heaven.

Jefferson's Jesus neither makes the deaf to hear nor the dumb to speak. The Holy Ghost is not included. Gone, too, naturally, are all the earlier miraculous healings, raisings from the dead, the walkings on water and the cleansings and feedings of multitudes with two fishes and five loaves of barley bread.

What is left in the 82 columns that he had culled from the approximately 700 columns of his King James version of the New Testament? Many parables, most of the Sermon on the Mount (from Matthew). Where there is a little lacuna at the end of Matthew 5, he has excised "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

From John 12 he retained nearly all of verses 23 and 24. "Verily, verily . . ." Jesus says, "Except a corn of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone: but if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Just prior to the two "verilys," however, Jefferson has excised the words "The hour is come that the Son of man should be glorified." (Jefferson did concede that Jesus claimed divine inspiration, but he excused what he considered a lapse in logic and honesty as being due to the influence of the superstitious time in which Jesus lived.)



En ce tems-là, on publia un Edit de la part de César-Auguste, pour faire un dénombrement des habitans de toute la terre.

2. Ce dénombrement se fit, avant que Quirinus fût Gouverneur de Syrie.

3. Ainsi tous alloient pour être enregistrés, chacun dans sa ville.

4. Joseph aussi monta de Galilée en Judée, de la ville de Nazareth, à la ville de David, nommé Beth-léhem, parce qu'il étoit de la maison et de la famille de David;

5. Pour être enregistrés avec Marie son épouse, qui étoit enceinte.

6. Et pendant qu'ils étoient là, le tems auquel elle devoit accoucher arriva.

7. Et elle mit au monde son Fils premier-né, et elle l'emmaillotta, et le coucha dans une crèche, parce qu'il n'y avoit point de place pour eux dans l'hôtellerie.

21. Quand les huit jours furent accomplis pour circoncire l'enfant, il fut appelé JESUS,

39. Et après qu'ils eurent accomplis tout ce qui est ordonné par la Loi du Seigneur, ils retournèrent en Galilée, à Nazareth, qui étoit leur ville.

CHAP. II.

The Roman empire taxed.

AND it came to pass in those days, that there went out a decree from Cesar Augustus, that all the world should be taxed.

2 (*And* this taxing was first made when Cyrenius was governor of Syria.)

3 And all went to be taxed, every one into his own city.

4 And Joseph also went up from Galilee, out of the city of Nazareth, into Judea, unto the city of David, which is called Beth-lehem (because he was of the house and lineage of David,)

5 To be taxed with Mary his espoused wife, being great with child.

6 And so it was, that, while they were there, the days were accomplished that she should be delivered

7 And she brought forth her first-born son, and wrapped him in swaddling-clothes, and laid him in a manger; because there was no room for them in the inn.

21 And when eight days were accomplished for the circumcising of the child, his name was called JESUS,

39 And when they had performed all things, according to the law of the Lord, they returned into Galilee, to their own city Nazareth.

Jefferson's Nativity, here in French and English, dispenses with verses eight through 20, including all references to shepherds, angels, the glory of God, and the prediction of Christ's mission in the world.

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In trying to expunge the God of revelation and to keep only as much of the God of nature as a rationalist can easily believe in, Jefferson, of course, left out the heart of Christianity as it is understood by most believers. He also deprived himself of much of the poetry. No angel appears to Mary, explaining that she will miraculously bear the child of God. In St. Luke's account of the Nativity there are no shepherds abiding in the fields, no wise men, no glory shining round about them.

The old man still had before him one of the most exalting stories ever told. It also appears that Jefferson was able to suspend the rigors of proof enough to believe in a kind of personal immortality. He never explained why he believed in it. But in later life, he spoke of being reunited one day with his dead wife and child, and even with some of his classmates from school. It is nice to think of him like that, certainly one of the great minds and spirits of his or any other generation, brooding over his very own Bible by candlelight at Monticello, as one after another of those gentle Southern evenings slipped into full darkness.

Spectacles that Jefferson used for Biblical studies sit on table in Monticello.

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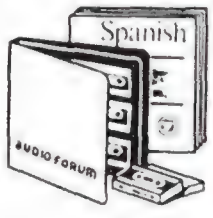

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One reason for the persistence of hazing may be that such initiation ceremonies have traditionally served two sensible functions in society. First, they tested the mettle of the candidate. Second, they tempered a novice against the buffets that life would surely send later.

Every culture has such initiation rites and ordeals, which usually amount to a

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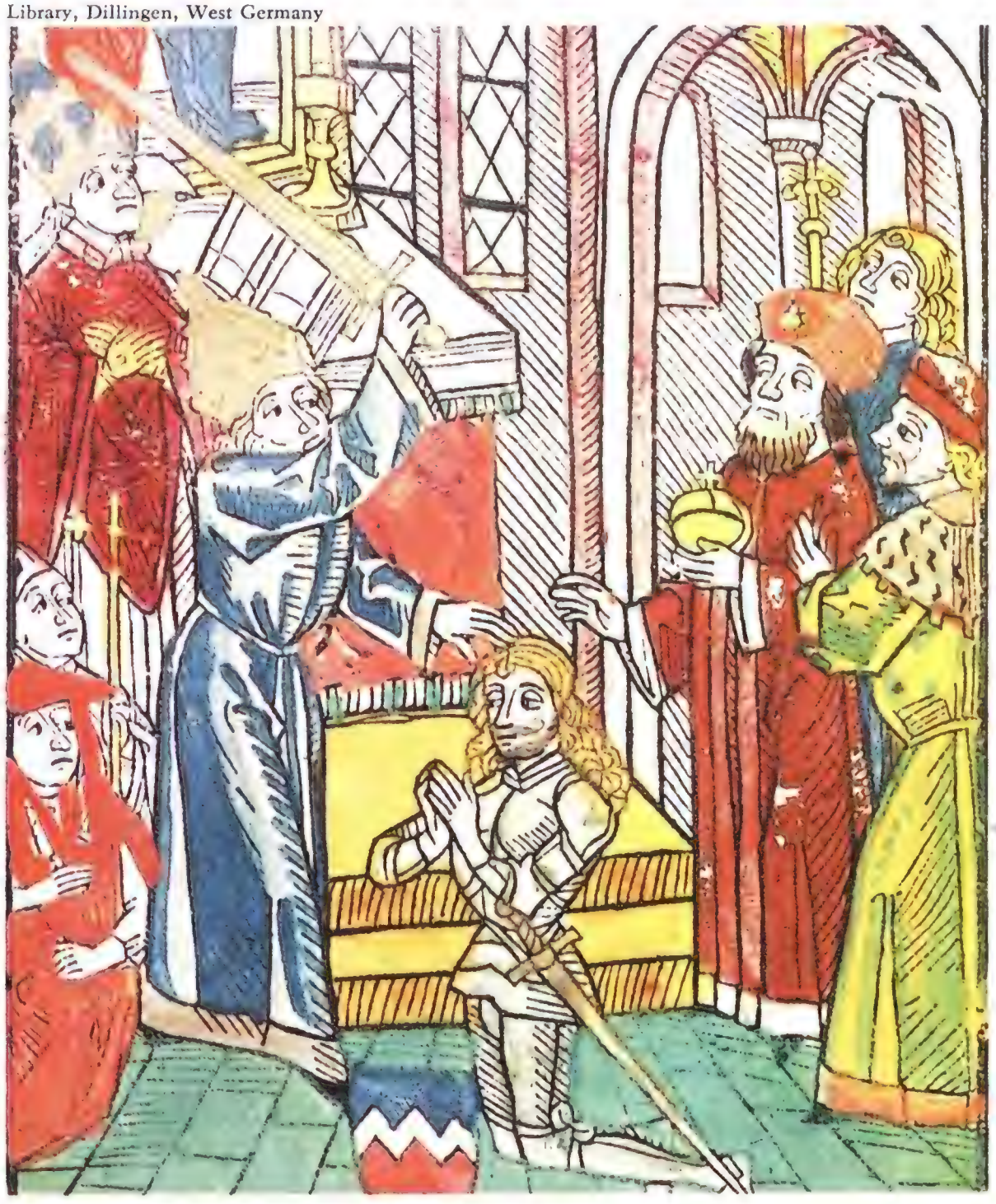

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formal introduction into some position or club, or which signify that the beginner has been given some new knowledge. In many lands, that means an understanding of hunting skills, survival practices, or religious or sexual rites.

The ordeal part of the initiation was crucial, and it was often harsh and painful. The Indians of some California tribes, for example, had a puberty initiation rite that involved stinging a boy with nettles until he was immobile, stinging him with ants and then requiring him to fast. In Brazil and Bolivia, pubescent girls were sewn into hammocks and hung from the ceilings of their huts—for periods that ranged from four days to four months. And they were beaten regularly to ward off evil spirits. In Guiana, girls were not only suspended in hammocks for four months, but also subjected to the painful bites of certain large ants.

In these, and in hundreds of similar examples from around the world, what we are supposed to see is the death of the old spirit and the rebirth of a new person inside the initiate. Even in the innocuous ceremony for sailors "passing the line"—the Equator—for the first time, the initiation involves paying homage to Old King Neptune, and then a ritual drowning or dunking. And the process of dubbing a knight (as in "I dub thee knight") demands a light but symbolic blow against the old self. Symbolically, the violence results in the embarkation upon a new life.

Modern college fraternities and sororities too have their share of mystical elements in their initiation ceremonies. There is the making of paddles by the pledge class, and then the ritual spanking of these neophytes, in which their former evils and their immaturity are transferred into the wood. On some campuses, the paddles (or one symbolic paddle) are then burned in the fireplace, signifying the death of the old way of life, up the chimney with the smoke.

The trouble that has arisen in the past has come not from the ceremonies themselves, but from those who confuse the literal with the symbolic nature of the ordeal. Such mean-spirited dolts have always been around. As one newspaper observed on October 16, 1894, "The freshman class of Princeton is smaller this autumn than last . . . due in part to the hazing outrages of recent years."

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Of course, not every undergraduate has borne these indignities silently. In 1636, the Earl of Shaftesbury, then a freshman at Oxford's Exeter College, protested the drinking practice known as "salting and tucking" (nicking on the chin) and decided to resist this "foolish custom of great antiquity." He describes the scene thus: "One of the seniors in the evening called the freshmen . . . to the fire, and made them hold out their chin, and then with the nail of their right thumb, left long for that purpose, grate off all the skin from the lip to the chin, and then cause them to drink a beer glass of water and salt." By prearrangement with other members of the freshman class, the Earl and his followers incited a great dust-up in the college hall at the time of the ceremony and so brought an end to the custom at Exeter.

Nevertheless, the practice was still observed at other Oxford colleges, notably at Merton, where writer Anthony Wood matriculated in 1647. Wood describes tucking as a nicking on the chin, "which sometimes would produce Blood," and salting as a sort of reward or punishment for a student's first college speech. On Shrove Tuesday, each student would discard his college gown in favor of making "himself look like a Scoundrel." While the students were thus disguising themselves, the college cook would be preparing a caudle, a syrupy gruel with spices and wine or ale added. Each freshman would then be led before an assembly of upperclassmen in the college great hall, made to stand on a box and deliver a speech.

As for the salting, Wood says that would depend on how well the speech came off: "if well done, the person that spoke it was to have a Cup of Cawdle and no *salted Drinke*; if indifferently, some Cawdle and some *salted Drinke*; but if dull, nothing was given to him but *salted Drinke*, or *salt* put in College Bere." Afterwards, an oath was administered to all freshmen by the senior cook of the college "over an old shoe." Each new student would then kiss the shoe and could put on his gown as a full-fledged member of his class.

Although the hazing of freshmen is indeed an ancient art, perhaps its fullest expression is available in an Anglo-Latin treatise, "The Dialogue of Jacobus Pontanus." There, the narrator is deri-

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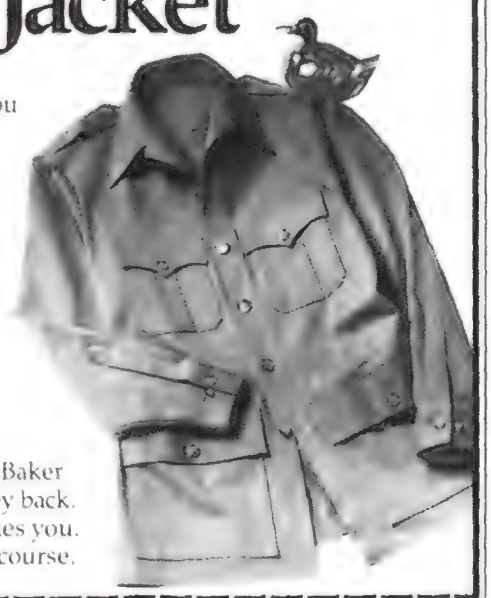

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sively hailed as Prince of Freshmen by his tormentors and made to lie still while they all thrash him and mockingly chop at him with an axe. They then "washed" him with dirty water, shaved him (although he was, as he says, "guiltless of a beard") and combed him with a rake. Next, they asked him to write a letter and roared with laughter when he was unable to open a fake inkwell.

But the cruelest jest was planting a forged letter from his mother, which was snatched from his pocket and read aloud before the assembly. Its contents: "My mother lamented my absence, and consoled me in the most silly and weak manner: saying how carefully she had nursed, how often kissed her sweetest child, how carefully she had brought me up, and how she had made me her darling all my life, calling me her little angel, her sweet lambkin, her chicabiddy sweeter than honey. . . . Of course this epistle was concocted and written by my tormentors themselves. How they enjoyed it—they almost burst with laughter. . . . How they knocked me about! I had rather die than go through it again."

In all this, it's clear that inculcating a sense of humility is the key. And that the blows, as in the case of the fraternity paddles, are simply reminiscent of ancient and honorable rites.

A surprisingly candid commentator on all this was Martin Luther, who officiated at a hazing of new Wittenberg students in July 1539. In Luther's day, the ceremony involved calling new students "yellow bills," attaching horns to their heads to symbolize their monstrous, uncivilized immaturity, and then pouring wine over them in a token baptism to cleanse them of their former unbridled natures. "Learn to be patient," Luther advised his charges. "You'll be subjected to hazing all your life. When you hold important offices in the future, burghers, peasants, nobles, and your wives will harass you with various vexations. When this happens, don't go to pieces. Bear your cross with equanimity and your troubles without murmuring. . . . Say that you first began to be hazed in Wittenberg when you were a young man, that now that you have become a weightier person you have heavier vexations to bear. So this test is only a symbol of human life in its misfortunes and castigations."

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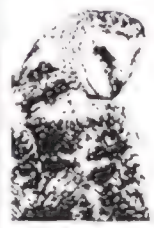

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Book reviews

Report on the Shroud of Turin
John H. Heller
Houghton Mifflin, $15.95

That the Shroud of Turin is one of the most fascinating and baffling artifacts in the world has been known for decades. Whatever else it may be, as this excellent book explains with lucidity and dispassion, we may never know.

Physically, the Shroud is a piece of very old linen, 14 feet long and three and one-half feet wide, which bears in a yellowish color the images of the front and back of a nude, long-haired man with his hands crossed over the pelvis. On the visual evidence he had been scourged and crucified, wounded in the side, bruised in the face, shoulders and one knee, and sharp objects had punctured his scalp in several places. His bare feet left traces of dirt on the linen.

The Shroud turned up in the mid-14th century in France, presumably part of the sacred spoils brought back from the Crusaders' sack of Constantinople. It passed to the House of Savoy, which became the ruling house of Italy, and in 1578 was moved to Turin, where it has remained ever since, except for occasional secret evacuations to protect it during wars. The Vatican, which has never expressed an opinion about its authenticity, inherited it in late March 1983, when the exiled last king of Italy, Umberto II, died and left it to the Holy See in his will.

Displayed very rarely in public in the past two centuries, it was seen in 1978 in Turin in honor of the 400th anniversary of its arrival in the city. More than three

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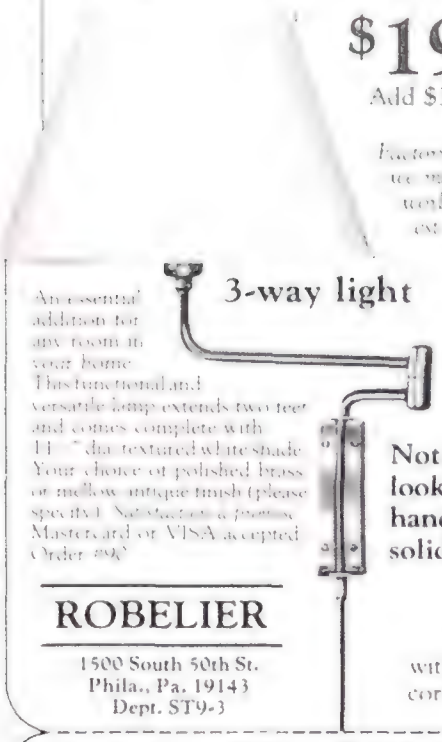

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million persons walked solemnly through the Cathedral of St. John to view it over the main altar. More important, for mystery lovers and readers of this book, it was seen, analyzed and studied virtually nonstop for 120 hours by a multidisciplinary team of U.S. scientists. Aided by $2.5 million worth of sophisticated equipment, they subjected it to every test team members could think of trying to establish 1) if it is a clever forgery or 2) if not, what made it?

Heller was a member of the team and a typical one in that he could never quite figure out how he, a medical doctor, pathologist, chemist and biophysicist, got himself mixed up with a relic. But, like everyone else on the team, he found himself obsessed and he was dead certain that science could find the answers.

Science did not. The Shroud of Turin, after between 100,000 and 150,000 scientific man-hours of study and the best analytical tools available in the world (except for carbon 14 testing, which was denied by the authorities because it destroys the tested materials), is as much a mystery as it was when the first dazzled peasant gaped at it in the 14th century. Perhaps more so, because the scientists concluded beyond reasonable doubt that it is not a forgery, in the sense that it could not have been created by Man by any presently known method.

Heller's book describes in detail the different tests used, but the technical discussion rarely gets in the way of what is a gripping adventure story, recounted with humor and with rueful respect for the challenging mystery. Challenge is in fact one of the key elements of the book, the "fun," which is the word he often uses.

There have been dozens of pop-journalism articles about the search since 1978, and dozens of dense scientific papers, and at least one other book. But Heller's treatment is the most satisfactory. He writes both for people whose initial reaction is "The *what* of *where*?" and for those who have followed the proceedings closely. Here is a succinct history of the Shroud's reported antecedents and peregrinations, arguments over its authenticity, and such startling landmarks as the first photographs, in 1898, which revealed that the Shroud is a *negative* image, created somehow centuries before photog-

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raphy made even the concept of negative images familiar to people.

If the book has a flaw, it lies in the lengthy and technical discussion of Heller's search for blood on the Shroud. He didn't really care one way or the other, when he started, whether the stains he was asked to examine were blood or not. But he is a blood expert, and he got into a scientific disagreement with Dr. Walter McCrone of Chicago, a micro-analyst who has won a reputation for exposing frauds in everything from ancient maps to mummies to paintings. McCrone examined fibers from the Shroud and announced that they revealed not blood but fine red iron oxide used as a paint pigment. He thus pronounced the Shroud a medieval forgery.

Heller, examining the same materials, called on 30 years of experience with blood cells and pronounced the stains blood. Heller is convinced, and he makes a very convincing case, that he is correct and McCrone is wrong. Other members of the scientific-examining team agree with Heller.

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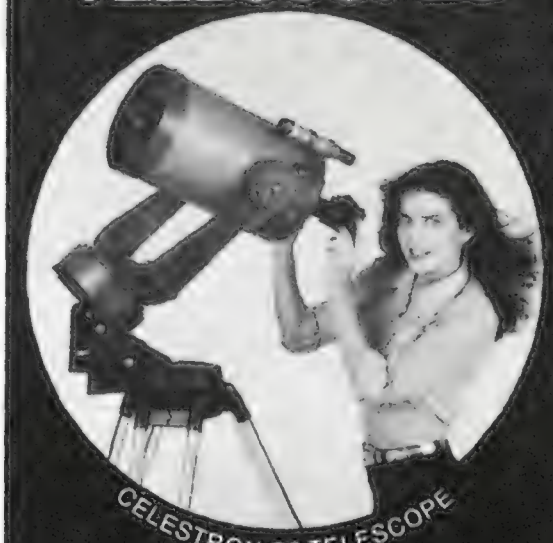

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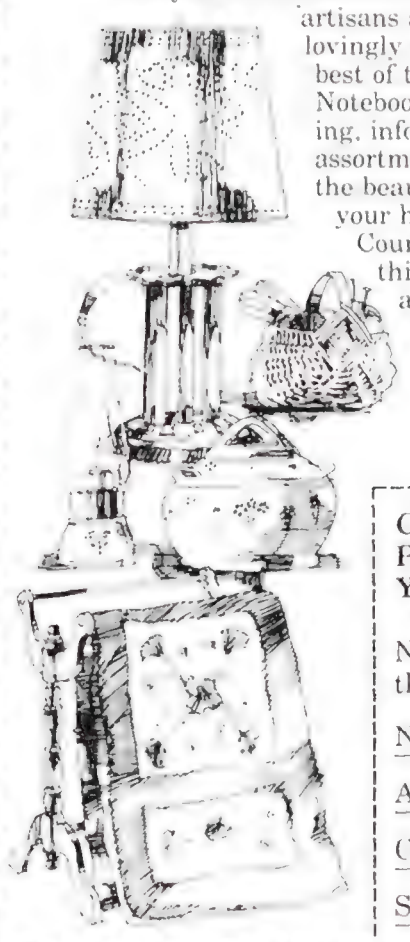

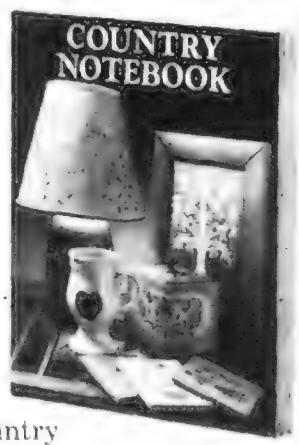

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This is the only point of controversy in the book. Heller makes it clear, without laboring the point, that the much-dreaded confrontation between religious belief and science simply never occurred; there were no clashes within the team or with clerical authorities in Italy. There were some hilarious confrontations with recalcitrant Italian customs officers, porters, problems with plumbing and electrical facilities, some imaginative use of everything from chicanery to disposable diapers, but these are the only welcome human distractions in the larger scientific picture.

Blood or no blood, faith or no faith, the Shroud remains the star of the show, the center of the mystery, an object of such surpassing nuance that there is room for an entire spectrum of opinion regarding it. Except forgery. This is a book which will make you admire scientists, keep you up at night, make you laugh and give you goose pimples.

Dora Jane Hamblin
Free-lance writer who lives in Italy

The Intelligent Traveller's Guide to Historic Britain
Philip A. Crowl
Congdon & Weed, $39.95; $19.95, paper

This massive guide is precisely what the author says it is. It embraces England, Wales and the Crown Dependencies: no Scotland, no Northern Ireland. It confines itself to history: no theme parks, no hotels, no restaurants. And it assumes the traveler has an omnivorous taste and a consuming curiosity for all the visible symbols of the invisible past: the National Museum of Labour History, the New Forest, Chatsworth House, Norwich Cathedral—each receives about the same attention. The author, a former professor of history, wants readers to know the difference between *pele* towers and so-called vicars' *peles*, both types of fortifications. Of its kind the book could not be better.

In addition to being well informed and comprehensive, the book is well written and intelligently organized. The most rigorous test for any guidebook is found in the index, and Professor Crowl has supplied a superb one which runs to 44 pages: Robert Adam? 19 entries; the Fitzwilliam Museum? four entries; Bodiam

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Castle? three. The index reveals an organization that works well at two levels, for the book is both an excellent reference manual, which ought to be in every college (and traveler's) library, and a good traveling companion.

Companionship is another important test. Some friends, however good, are best left at home lest they reveal how bored they are by being dragged off to the Venerable Bede's Monastery Museum in Jarrow. This companion wants to see it all. Recently I put the book to the most practical test, using it on the spot (indeed, the many spots) in the West Country, in Cambridgeshire, and in the Wealds of Kent and Sussex. Its judgments agree with mine (Bodiam is "the finest ruined castle in England"), which is always nice; it is at times critical; and it ventures pleasantly dictatorial opinions.

Among the good features are a fine bibliography and the author's own list of "three-star sites and museums." The list is instructive, and does suggest something of a bias toward Oxford and Cambridge (of 14 academic buildings awarded three stars, 12 are at Oxbridge) and toward the military (24 ruined castles, 25 habitable castles, 9 military museums, but only 11 "literary" houses). But peace be with us: there are also 20 cathedrals, 13 ruined abbeys, and 34 parish churches worthy of these stars. Throughout the gazetteer one and two stars are also frequently awarded.

All this may sound a bit compulsive, and perhaps there are moments when the book is so. Still, Britain invites compulsions, for there is so much in it to see and to ponder, so many green hills to climb. Here is not only a guidebook that provides true guidance based on personal experience and wide research; here is a highly readable history of Britain, from Swanscombe Man—encountered on page four, in the British Museum of Natural History—to World War II, and Winston Churchill's gravestone at Bladon.

This is not to say the book is perfect. It seems to me to scrimp on Wales. The choice of parish churches could be much argued—Kent and East Anglia are, to my taste, underrepresented. One cannot always be certain the author has actually visited a site (of Ightham Mote he says, "Visiting hours very restricted," which is true, though on the spot a sign states that it is open only on Fridays, which would

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have been more precise). Most of all, the unremitting commitment to history obscures those green hills—no Box Hill to climb, Ashdown Forest to ramble through, no chalky cliffs of Dover. These have a history too, and to separate history from nature so rigidly is to deny the unity of both.

The book is, finally, about castles, churches, museums—which are static, and though the narrative history puts people in and around the objects, they seem diminished by them. Of course, no one book can do everything, and this one already does so much. Yet perhaps the decision to tell the reader much twice, once in the history and again in the gazetteer, occasionally in nearly identical words, was not entirely wise. One feels that the author has moved across the landscape like a conquering army, oblivious to the people behind the hedgerows.

Even so, this book does so well what it sets out to do that one ought not to fault the author for not having written a different book from the one he wanted to write. We travelers, intelligent and otherwise, needed this book. It is, within its definitions, the best guide-and-history to Britain ever written.

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In the fall of 1862, a small band of frontiersmen played cat and mouse with Apache Indians. For weeks the explorers scouted back and forth along the escarpments of western New Mexico, trying to cross the Continental Divide while the resisting Indians sniped at them from the narrow passes. Finally, in desperate straits for food and water, the leader of the white men sprang a trap that still leaves historians dazzled by its nerve. Though unfortunately the details of his trap are lost to history, Joe Walker captured the Apache's chieftain, Mangas Coloradas, in his mountain stronghold and thus led the party safely through to the plains beyond. (Army soldiers, to whom Walker delivered Mangus, killed the chief before the explorers made their crossing.)

From novels and television we've come to expect such derring-do as a matter of course from trailblazers. Yet we really know that drama was not the usual fare of frontier life. To the contrary, many celebrants of their own Western adventures, such as Capt. John Charles Frémont, the self-styled "Pathfinder," actually were glory hogs with glib pens who spent a good deal of their time hungry, lost and ignored by Indians.

Soured on the ballyhoo, we're almost befuddled when we encounter the quite genuine feats of a Joe Walker. The mountain man guided the surveyors of the Santa Fe Trail, led the first white men to Yosemite Valley, discovered a gold bonanza in Arizona, and offered friendship to the Indians—all the while refusing to brag about his accomplishments.

Against the artificial backdrop of blazing six-guns and flashing sabers, Joe Walker appears as an "example of what a Frontier Hero could and should be," writes his biographer Bil Gilbert, who has

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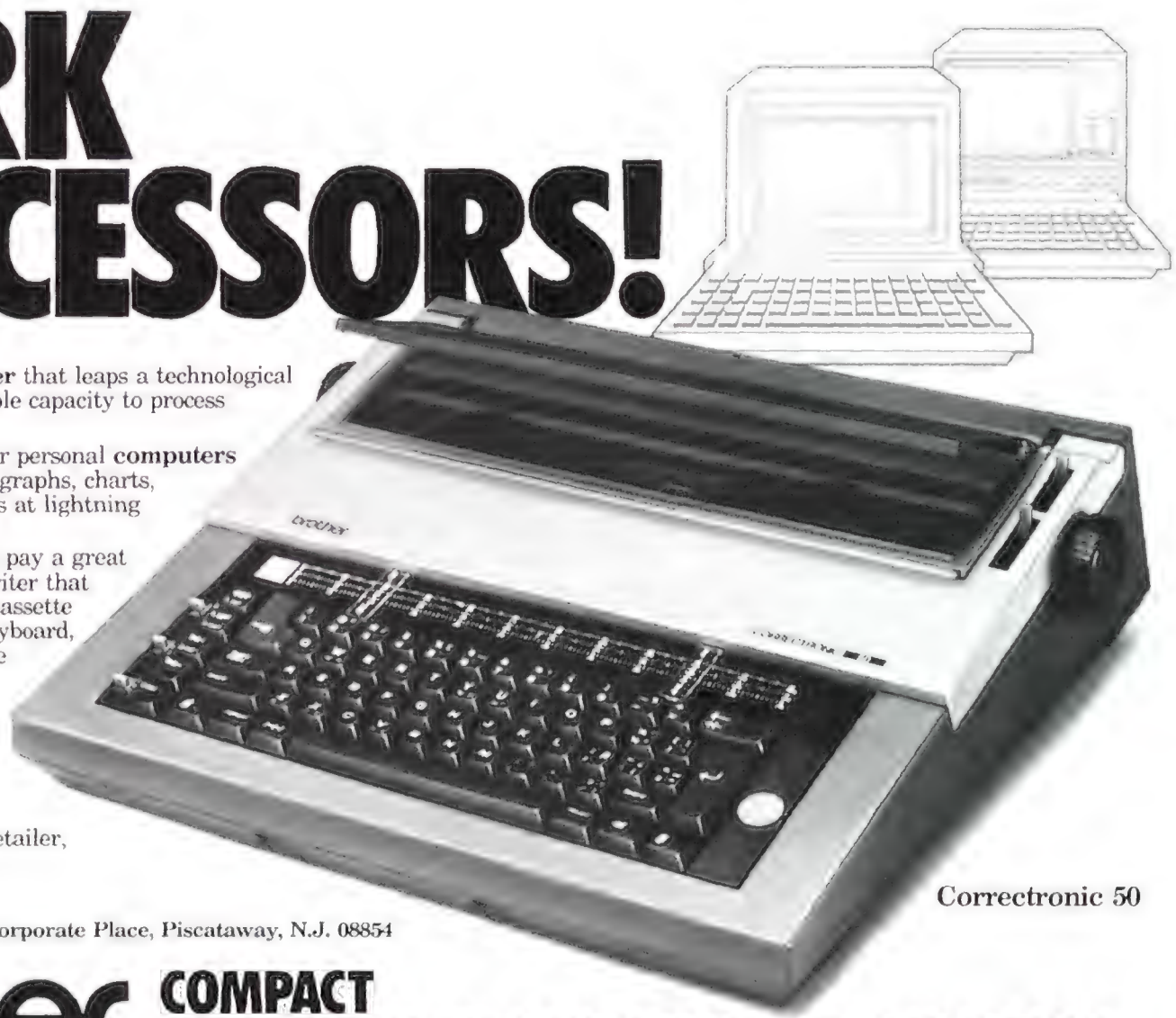

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taken on the task of drawing in the round a man characterized by reticence. Not that Walker was an eccentric lone wolf. Kind as well as courteous, "Captain" Joe Walker (civilians gave him the honorary title out of respect) led hundreds of emigrants across the opening West, earning their esteem for his handling of men and his coolness under fire. Yet, wrote an admiring young man accompanying Walker on the first crossing of California's Sierra Nevada by white men, "to explore unknown regions was his chief delight." Hoopla about extraordinary deeds struck "Captain Uncle Jo" as so much silliness. Even at the age of 65, he preferred pursuing "his chief delight" into the few blank spaces left on the map to spinning yarns about his experiences.

Estimable though this may be, it creates a research problem of considerable proportions for the scholar trying to follow Walker through the wilderness. As might be imagined, the doughty Captain encouraged no Boswell. A swollen river swept him off his horse and claimed the only journal he kept. As a result, although historians know that the tall trailblazer from Tennessee took a wife from the Snake tribe of the Rocky Mountains, they know neither her name nor the number of their children. As far as records are concerned, Walker simply disappears for months and even years at a stretch into the West's terra incognita, to surface in Taos, Monterey, Los Angeles. . . .

It is a measure of the explorer's reputation that frontier diarists of the mid-19th century repeatedly mention him. Making use of this widely scattered material, Bil Gilbert pieces together Joe Walker's life. *Westering Man* is not what one might call an intimate biography, but Gilbert makes up for the loss with a different sort of richness derived from his meticulous research.

Here we see Walker moving among scout Kit Carson, Western artist Alfred Jacob Miller, and lesser-known but equally chromatic figures such as Peg-leg Smith and Wind Wagon Thomas. While he is not always able to hold shadowy Joe Walker in his biographical net, Gilbert manages to follow Walker about the West in the wake of the many ripples created by "Captain Uncle Jo."

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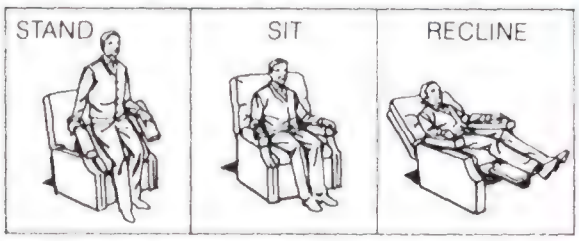

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Cleveland Museum of Art

Jester by Velázquez holds miniature in one hand, toy windmill in the other.

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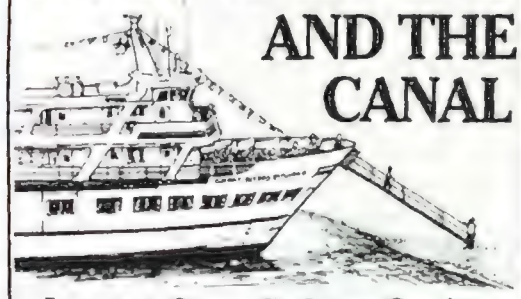

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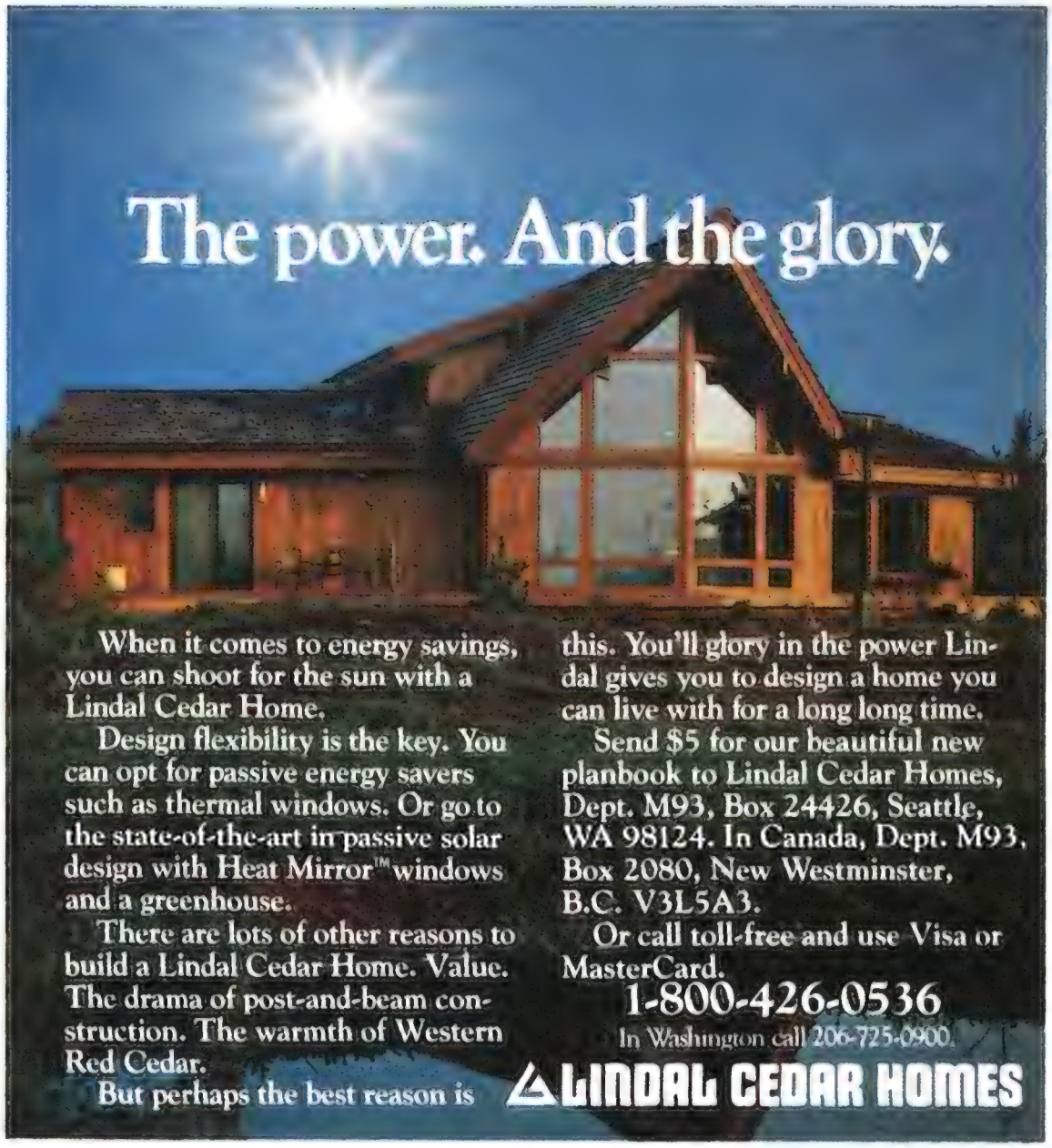
of acquisitiveness but in the interests of building a collection of scholarly and esthetic distinction, and he let his museum educators do their job, but within limits.

The selection of Lee's essays collected in this volume was published to coincide with his retirement this June, "as homage to a great director, scholar, and friend," as Rémy G. Saisselin, professor of art history at the University of Rochester, writes in the preface. Roughly the first three-quarters of the book is devoted to papers on the proper—and improper—role of the museum, art and collecting; except for a piece on Charles Demuth, another on Velázquez and a concluding one on quality in painting, the second part consists of essays on Lee's specialty, Far Eastern art. All are written with grace and economy.

The principal role of the museum, writes Lee, is preservation. "The argument that this concept of the museum is unworthy of 'the living present' is the argument of those who are antihistorical, who fancy opinion over tradition and historically constructed taste, of fashion over style, of news over history. If man is the sum of his past . . . then it is just the past that needs preserving." In answer to those who want museums to be "with it," he replies that there is nothing "so dead today as the Twist, or so alive as Velázquez' paintings. . . ." He concludes: "The art museum is not fundamentally concerned with therapy, illustrating history, social action, entertainment, or scientific research." The museum, for Lee, is first and foremost "a *primary source* of wonder and delight for mind and heart. In this the art museum is comparable to a permanent storage battery, or to a library of original manuscripts."

Not surprisingly, he sees the museum's educational function as being primary *only* for the world of visual images. It can, therefore, be educational, in the best sense, by simply "preserving and exhibiting works of art—though it never utters or prints a word." His is an unashamedly elitist view in holding that museums should encourage the formation of "members of an elite—a gifted, trained, and experienced set of persons preeminent within their chosen discipline. The sum of these elites is the glory of a democratic society." To him, elitist is simply the concomitant of excellence, and to quiet those who cringe at such a notion, he points out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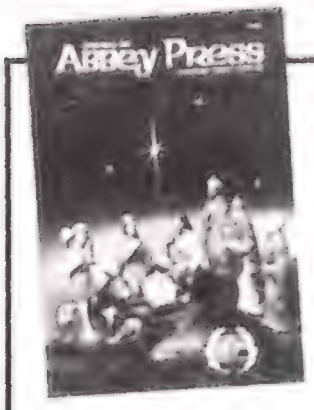

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In an essay titled "Eye Object," Lee takes on the avant-garde that rejects the object in favor of concepts. In another, he attacks artworks that are nothing but objects—which for Lee are mere documents of material history, while art "shows us the infinite possibilities of human vision."

These are just a few of the ideas Lee sets forth in these essays. After reading them, it comes as no surprise that he chose as his specialty Chinese rather than Japanese art. In an article comparing the two, he describes Chinese art as more moderate, less exaggerated, more noble and restrained than the Japanese. The Chinese is an art of the golden mean, the middle way, which is also Lee's way.

Andrea Oppenheimer Dean
Senior editor of *Architecture Magazine*, journal of the American Institute of Architects

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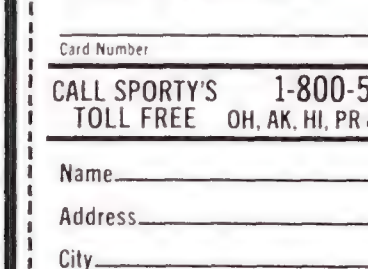

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Metropolitan Opera (p. 78)

The Metropolitan Opera 1883-1966: A Candid History by Irving Kolodin, Knopf, 1968

Celebration: The Metropolitan Opera by Francis Robinson, Doubleday/Metropolitan Opera Association/Metropolitan Opera Guild, 1979

Great Singers on Great Singing by Jerome Hines, Doubleday, 1982

The Met: One Hundred Years of Opera by Martin Mayer, Simon & Schuster, 1983

Edouard Manet (p. 90)

Manet: 1832-1883 (exhibition catalog), Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1983

Manet and His Critics by George Heard Hamilton, W. W. Norton, 1969

Manet and Modern Paris (exhibition catalog), National Gallery of Art, Washington, 1982

Gouldsboro Bay (p. 104)

Aquaculture: the Farming and Husbandry of Freshwater and Marine Organisms by J. E. Bardach, J. R. Ryther and W. O. McLerney, Wiley, 1972

A Field Guide to the Atlantic Seashore by Kenneth L. Gosner, Houghton Mifflin, 1978

Oxbridge museums (p. 114)

Cockerell by Wilfrid Blunt, Knopf, 1965

Fitzwilliam Museum by Carl Winter, Trianon Press (France), 1958

The Treasures of Oxford by David Piper, Paddington Press Ltd., 1977

Bacteria (p. 127)

"The Sensing of Chemicals by Bacteria" by Julius Adler, *Scientific American*, April 1976

"How Bacteria Swim" by Howard Berg, *Scientific American*, August 1975

Jefferson's Bibles (p. 139)

Jefferson the President by Dumas Malone (Vols. 4, 5), Little, Brown, 1970, 1974

Thomas Jefferson: An Intimate History by Fawn M. Brodie, W. W. Norton, 1974

Snoring (p. 174)

"Sleep Disorders" by Eugene Garfield, *Current Contents*, Institute for Scientific Information (Philadelphia), May 30 and June 6, 1983

Snoring: New Answers to an Old Problem by Marcus H. Boulware, American Faculty Press, 1974

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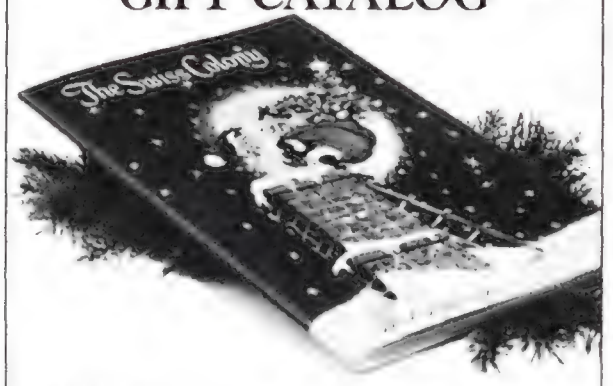

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Smithsonian highlights

Old-photograph buffs will savor the vintage albumen prints on display in NMNH's Discovery Room lounge. Documenting life in late-19th-century India, they were made by Samuel Bourne and others he hired, often to work under the most trying of conditions. During expeditions, Bourne required some 60 bearers to transport glass plates, chemicals, tents, cameras, bedding—not to mention a supply of Hennessy's cognac. The show will be up through January.

Those who missed "Portraits in Black" at the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum this summer can still see some of the paintings. The National Portrait Gallery owns all of the works that were featured, and several are on view there now.

National Portrait Gallery
Blessed are the Peacemakers (September 3-November 27) Commemorates 200th anniversary of signing of Treaty of Paris.

Freer Gallery of Art
Studies in Connoisseurship, 1923-1983 (September 23-February 29, 1984) How 60 works of art collected by Charles Lang Freer have been reassessed over the years.

Hirshhorn Museum & Sculpture Garden
Purchases by the Hirshhorn Museum, 1974-83 (September 15-November 14).

National Air and Space Museum
At Home in the Sky: The Aviation Art of Frank Wootton (September 15-September 4, 1984) Some 50 sketches, paintings.

Renwick Gallery
Clay for Walls (September 16-June 17, 1984) Wall reliefs by 20 American artists.

Anacostia Neighborhood Museum
Through Their Eyes: The Art of Lou and Di Stovall (September 18-December 18).

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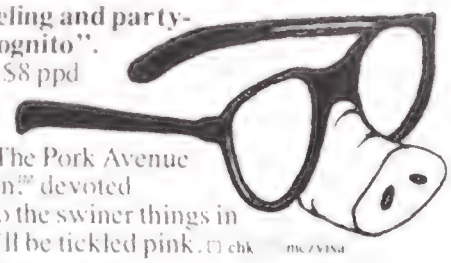

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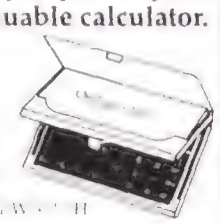

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National Museum of Natural History
"A Permanent Record of India": the Photographs of Bourne and Shepherd (through January).

Cooper-Hewitt Museum (New York)
A Penny Saved: Architecture in Cast-Iron Toy Banks (through October 23).
Contemporary Continuous Pattern (September 20-January 15, 1984) New look in fabrics and wall coverings.

Smithsonian events

For price information and tickets to Resident Associate events, call 357-3030:
Scandinavian Design (September 24; 9:30 A.M.-5:30 P.M.) Design specialists from five countries discuss their nations' distinctive contributions.
Cities in China (September 26; October 3, 17, 24) Choose breakfast or evening series to hear specialists describe Beijing, Chengdu, other cities.
London: Treasurehouse of History (October 1; 10 A.M.-5:30 P.M.) All-day seminar with William R. Dalzell, British art and architectural historian.
An Evening with Perry Rathbone (September 28; 8 P.M.) Lecture by Vice President and Director of Christie's Auction House.

Smithsonian on the air

Radio Smithsonian: Features include an update in the search for extraterrestrial life and a look at tropical forest ecology.
Here at the Smithsonian: TV features focus on 19th-century American painters

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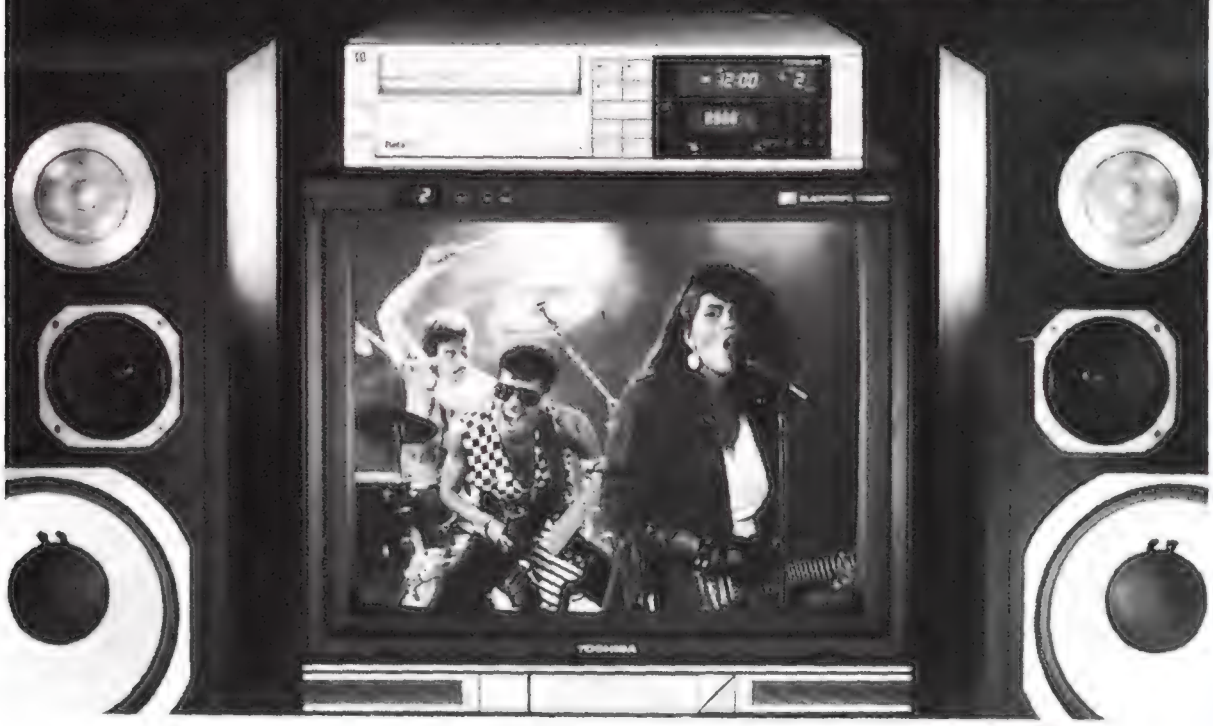

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Regional Events Program

Associates in Alaska will have the opportunity to meet Smithsonian curators and scientists when the Regional Events Program returns to Anchorage and Fairbanks, September 22-October 2. Events will also be held in Juneau September 24-28. The program will feature lectures and seminars on such topics as World War II aviation, forensic anthropology and the search for extraterrestrial intelligence. Associates in all three cities should have received invitations by now. For further information, write: Regional Events Program, A&I 1208, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C. 20560.

Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service

SITES circulates exhibitions to hundreds of cities outside Washington. To sponsor a show in your community, write: SITES, Smithsonian, Washington, D.C. 20560. Here are some September exhibits:

Anchorage (September 24-November 6) *Inua: Spirit World of the Bering Sea Eskimo*, Anchorage Historical and Fine Arts Museum.

Fort Myers, Florida (September 17-October 16) *American Drawings IV*, Edison Community College Gallery.

Ames, Iowa (September 3-October 2) *Impressions/Expressions: Black American Graphics*, Octagon Center for the Arts.

Monroe, Louisiana (September 3-October 2) *Studied Beauty: Portraits by Cecil Beaton*, Masur Museum of Art.

Membership benefits

A pre-visit packet, full of helpful information for Associates coming to Washington, includes "Planning Your Smithsonian Visit," and is free; send postcard request or phone Associates Reception Center, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C. 20560; (202) 357-2700; for hearing impaired, TDD (202) 357-1729. Allow two weeks for receipt.

Begin your visit at the Associates Reception Desk in the castle, where a cordial welcome and special printed materials await you, 10 A.M. to 4 P.M. Other benefits: a half-hour orientation/slide lecture to the 13 museums; dining in The Court; discounts in most Smithsonian shops.

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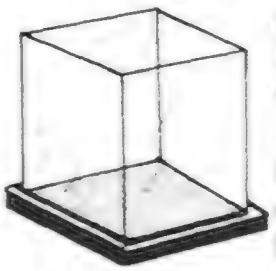
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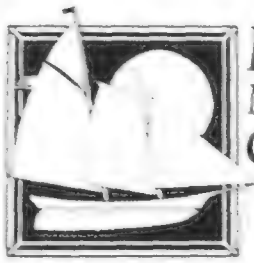
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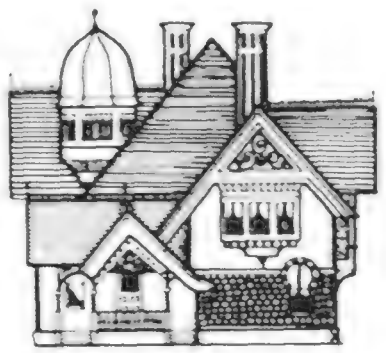
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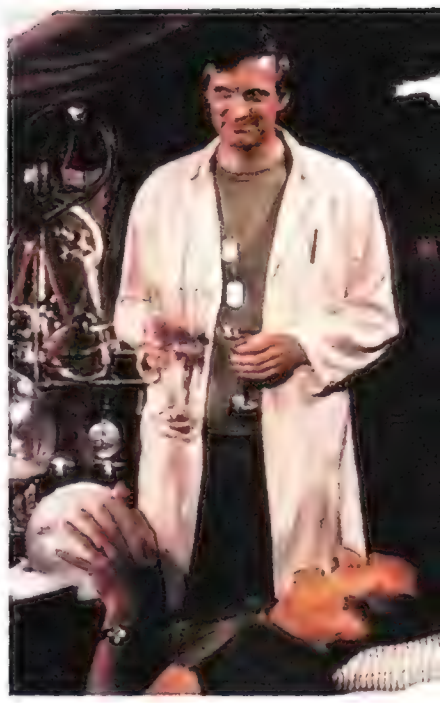
Digging up *M*A*S*H*'s roots

The Swamp, the operating room—even Klinger's gowns—show how true the TV series was to the original



The "real" MASH was the 8055th; at left, some of the members relax in their tent; Hawkeye, with improvised still, carried on tradition.

*M*A*S*H* addicts who are still adjusting to the demise of your favorite show—take heart. A new exhibit at the National Museum of American History, "*M*A*S*H*: Binding Up the Wounds," presents the full set of the Swamp, along with the operating room, the signpost, Hawkeye's still, Klinger's Cleopatra gown and other much-loved items, many of which have been donated to the Smithsonian by 20th Century-Fox. But the sleeper in the show is a photographic section that pairs stills from the series with similar scenes of actual MASH units (Mobile Army Surgical Hospitals) in Korea and Vietnam.

Many viewers have wondered over the years how historically accurate the TV series has been. The novel that started it all, *MASH*, was written by a surgeon who had been stationed in Korea at MASH 8055 (affectionately called the 8-0-double nickel by its alumni). The 8055 had a Swamp (complete with door), a Korean houseboy who was hidden in the ward for three months while recuperating from wounds, and a nurse who fit Hot Lips' description. The TV studio also did extensive research into the evolution of MASH units during the war.

The idea of photographic pairings was intended to illustrate this unusual degree of historical accuracy. But even David Ross, the picture researcher hired by NMAH to comb through Army files and private scrapbooks, was surprised by how well some of the pictures matched up. Ross also discovered that the *M*A*S*H* spark is timeless. Among the 8055 veterans he called on was Dr. William Enos, who is now Laboratory Director of Northern Virginia Doctors' Hospital. As Ross was leaving Enos' office with a scrapbook tucked under his arm, the good doctor's parting shot was, "By the way, I should show you my 16mm film of the nurses hiking to the showers in their bathrobes."

Constance Bond

Above, wounded soldier arrives at the 8225th MASH in September 1951; TV series, below, captured tension of life half an hour from the front.

In medical details, 3rd MASH, Korea (left) and TV version are remarkably similar—but fictional scene adds its own brand of sanity-saving humor.

Original Swamp door (above), in 1950 photograph, adorned bachelor officers' digs at 8055th MASH. Door was copied for TV series (below).

Read it and weep: off-hours at the 8055th, during Korean War, Bill Enos studies the bad news; at the 4077th, the game is young.

Laundry, MASH-style, was a makeshift operation: nurse in Korea, above, washes clothes in upturned combat helmet. Below, Hot Lips has strung a line between trees.

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Philadelphia October 5-9: An inside view of the city and nearby Pennsylvania Dutch country with a local historian.

Chesapeake Birds October 8-15: Thrill at the sight and sound of migrating hawks, ducks and shorebirds from Chincoteague to Cape May.

Sapelo Island November 2-7: Camp on unspoiled beaches while exploring this Georgia barrier island from water's edge to interior oak and bayberry forests.

New York City November 17-20 or December 8-11: Private art collections, *Cats*, N.Y. Yacht Club, Metropolitan Opera are all part of this insider's view of New York.

Florida Keys and Everglades December 3-10: An outdoor adventure, featuring a day trip to Dry Tortuga and canoeing in the Everglades' rivers and lakes.

Christmas at the Smithsonian December 9-11: Welcome the holidays with a gala tree-trimming party in the castle and special tours of the museums.

Hawaii January 29-February 11 or February 26-March 10: Hike and camp in the more secluded areas on three of these enchanted Pacific islands.

Yellowstone in Snow February 17-26: Ski across landscapes blanketed in stillness for a close view of wintering elk and steaming geysers.

Baja Whale Watch February 19-27: Board the *Royal Polaris* for an unforgettable journey to Baja Mexico to watch the migration of the gray whale.

Puerto Rico February 20-March 1: Travel to remote tropical rain forests to see colorful bird life, cascading waterfalls and exotic flowers.

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Oxford/Smithsonian Seminar September 9-24: Enjoy the special ambience of this famous university town. Oxford faculty members lead classes and field trips in history, literature, art, archaeology, and science and belief.

Black Sea Passage September 11-24: Follow the ancient route of Jason and the Argonauts, cruising from the Aegean to the Black Sea. The *Argonaut*'s ports will include Nessebur, Bulgaria; Constanta, Romania; Odessa, Yalta and Istanbul.

Scotland September 23-October 7: Special walking tours of Edinburgh and Glasgow plus travels through highlands, lowlands and islands, visiting castles, abbeys, battlefields and archaeology sites.

Journey to Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands October 9-22: From Athens, join experts aboard the *Illiria* for a study voyage to important historic and archaeological sites. Fall is the perfect season for visits to Rhodes and Santorini and the Turkish cities of Antalya, Bodrum and Izmir.

Portugal October 18-November 1: Traverse the land of the explorers for a search into the past and a good view of contemporary life. Begin with Lisbon's diverse charms and gentle character before sampling the rich variety of the historic coastline and hinterland.

Japan October 23-November 9: Explore Kyoto and nearby Nara before traveling to the Inland Sea and Central Honshu or through the Japanese Alps and along the Sea of Japan. Follow the excursion with a four-day stay in bustling Tokyo.

The Atlantic Crossing December 3-18: A sailing adventure from the Canary Islands to Antigua on the four-masted bark *Sea Cloud* features lectures on the art of sailing, navigation, marine life and the history of this beautiful ship.

Christmas in Canterbury December 22-January 3: An old-fashioned Dickens Yuletide: services at Becket's cathedral and traditional foods and festivities.

Mexico City and El Tajin January 12-24: With a Mesoamerican anthropologist, discover the rich archaeology and important museums in and around Mexico City, Puebla and seldom-visited sites of the Veracruz coastal plains.

Thailand and Burma January 20-February 10: Colorful cities, remote villages of the hill-tribe people, and historic sites will capture the splendor of Asia's most exotic countries.

India and Sri Lanka January 22-February 12: Combine a land trip to Delhi, Agra, Jaipur and Udaipur in northern India with a voyage around the Indian sub-continent on the *Illiria*. Explore the country's fascinating cultural contrasts with study leaders and local speakers.

Zapotec and Mayan Mexico February 9-21 or March 8-20: Study native cultures—past and present—in Oaxaca, San Cristóbal de las Casas and the Yucatán.

Morocco March 8-24: Explore the exotic imperial cities of Marrakesh, Fez, Rabat and Meknes and the powerful beauty of historic desert and mountain villages.

Ancient Civilizations March 11-31: A unique study voyage aboard the *Argonaut* traces the development of Western civilization. Begin in Cairo, then travel to historic sites along the Nile, in Jordan and Israel, before stopping in Santorini, Crete and Athens.

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Genealogical Research October 2-7: Participants learn how to conduct research in major genealogical repositories, including the National Archives, Library of Congress and DAR Library.

Lost America: Myth and Reality October 2-7: Dean Snow, renowned author, archaeologist and consultant to the National Geographic Society, discusses in generously illustrated lectures important archaeological sites in the news today, including the great burial mounds, the gigantic systems of geometric earthworks, and the temple builders who were inspired by Mesoamerican cultures. Highlights include tours, recent spectacular discoveries throughout the United States, unique art and architecture, and reasons for the demise of the great prehistoric cultures.

World War I Aviation October 16-21: World renowned experts Jack Bruce, Peter Grosz, Douglas Robinson, Walter Boyne, Donald Lopez and others from the National Air and Space Museum shed new light on the brave pilots and their aircraft.

Aircraft Restoration: How To October 23-27: Workshops at the Paul E. Garber Facility (formerly Silver Hill).

American Antique Furniture October 23-28: Connoisseurship of masterpieces, 1650-1840. Includes great collections, detection of fakes, care of antiques, and tours of the Winterthur Museum and the elegant Diplomatic Rooms at the Department of State.

Quilted Clothing November 6-11: Lectures and workshops with noted designer and author Virginia Avery.

Irresistible Magazine Writing November 13-18: Lectures and creative workshops with Edwards Park, lively, irreverent, irrepressible writer, originator of the *Smithsonian* column "Around the Mall and beyond" and author of the forthcoming book *Treasures of the Smithsonian.*

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Snorers! Don't despair! There will always be uvulopalatopharyngoplasty

In our house we have developed the practice of clipping from newspapers and magazines items that may be of interest to some other members of a large family, and then posting them (anonymously, of course) on the door of the refrigerator with small magnets. Something on dieting for Kate, or nail-biting for Beth.

So, when I spied this letter to Ann Landers, I knew exactly what to do with it. The letter ended as follows: "Most wives don't look like Julie Andrews, so don't feel like a failure if you're just so-so. Make the first move occasionally. Surprise him. . . . Be exciting. Flirt with him like you suspect his secretary does. . . . He'll love it!—*Happy in Poughkeepsie.*"

Oh, boy! This was the way to send an urgent message with a lighthearted touch. I clipped the letter and stuck it, not on the refrigerator door, but on our bedroom mirror—on her side.

Three days. Nothing was said. Nothing happened. How could she have missed it?

On the fourth morning, I noticed something stuck on my side of the mirror. Another letter from the newspaper. It read: "My husband raises the dead with his snoring. I've read that very heavy snorers can endanger their health. Will anything stop this constant sleep noise?—*Separate Rooms in Mobile.*"

The Separate Rooms part was underlined, twice, with red Magic Marker.

I know I snore a little, but that was a classic case of overkill. Besides, a little snoring couldn't hurt anyone, could it? I hied me to the library.

Surprisingly, there is little hard information about snoring available to the casual reader. But one reference quickly reassures me: no direct ill effect on the snorer, it says, unless he is suffering from sleep apnea, a condition in which sleepers can stop breathing for as long as two minutes. Indirect effects are another matter. In one cited example, a woman in Silver Spring, Maryland, zapped her sleeping husband with a club because he smelled of beer when he came home at 2:30 A.M., slammed the door, made all kinds of noise, then started to snore. That's what they mean by no *direct* ill effects.

Just what is snoring? The experts differ except about the fact that it involves the tongue, the upper respiratory passages and a vibrating palate. "The principle involved," says one, "is much like the rattling of window shutters in the wind."

Snoring can be caused by such physical problems as structural irregularities in the nasal and throat passages, or by sinus trouble. Otherwise, many doctors consider it to be a perfectly normal function, as I will be sure to remind my wife.

Folklore holds that more males than females snore at night because the habit derives from our primitive past, when cavemen defended their women by making terrifying noises—*in their sleep*—to frighten away beasts of prey! Try that one on your wife when she nudges you at 4 A.M. and tells you to cease snoring.

Women do, in fact, snore less than men. Children sometimes snore, then taper off, usually after losing tonsils or adenoids. Animals also snore; horses can even snore standing up or lying down. It should be noted that this phenomenon has also been observed in students and fathers at church on Sunday mornings.

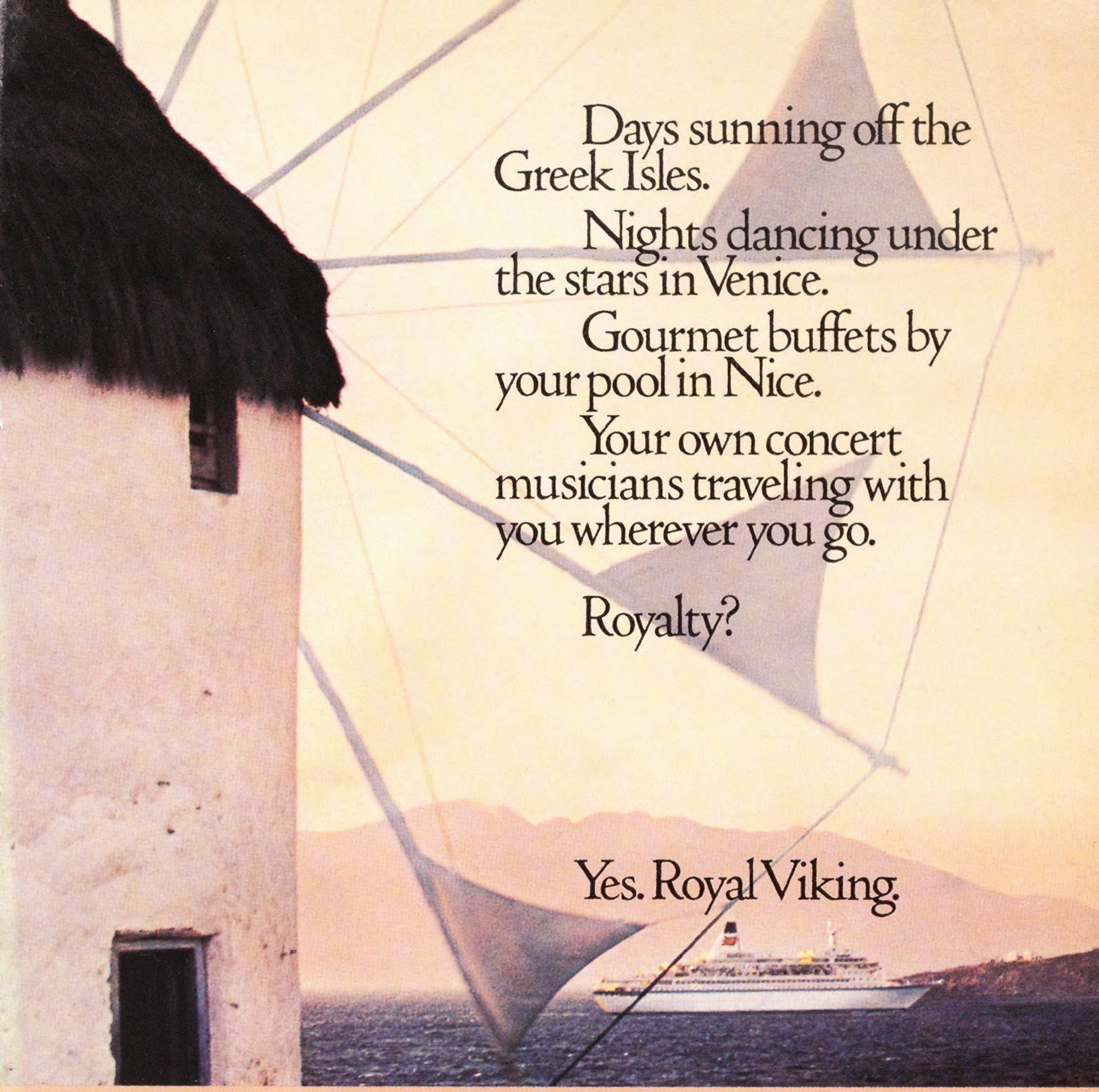
Over the years, more than 300 anti-snoring contraptions have been patented, many of them harnesses and straps to keep the sleeper's mouth closed and force him to breathe through his nose. Psychiatric treatment, hypnotism, acupuncture all have their adherents, and an old-in-Japan, new-in-the-USA surgical procedure called uvulopalatopharyngoplasty is being used to drop earthquake-scale snorers below the seismic level.

If you're a nocturnal trumpeter and can't afford the uvulopalatopharyngoplasty operation, take solace. You're not alone. About 35 million other Americans qualify as practitioners of stertorous breathing. You're in distinguished historical company, too. The merest skimming of the list of famous snorers includes Winston Churchill (at least 35 decibels); Mussolini ("an outstanding artist"); a couple of British kings named George; and 20 American presidents, from Washington to Franklin Delano Roosevelt. The list ends with FDR because it was compiled in 1947.

I pointed this out to my wife when I stuck the list up on the mirror, subtly hinting that Ronald Reagan very likely also snores. Could she imagine the flap in the press if it became known that Nancy had banished him to some White House broom closet for so human an offense?

"*I* didn't vote for him," she replied, with her usual unassailable logic, "so let Nancy worry about her problems, and I'll worry about mine." We went to bed. She fell asleep. Eventually, I did, too, trying not to snore. I woke up at dawn. I was shivering. The blanket was gone. Her pillow was gone. So was she. But something was scrawled on the mirror in lipstick: "Laugh and the world laughs with you. Snore and you sleep alone."

Ann Landers, haven't you learned to keep some letters to yourself?



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